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Teaching ethics

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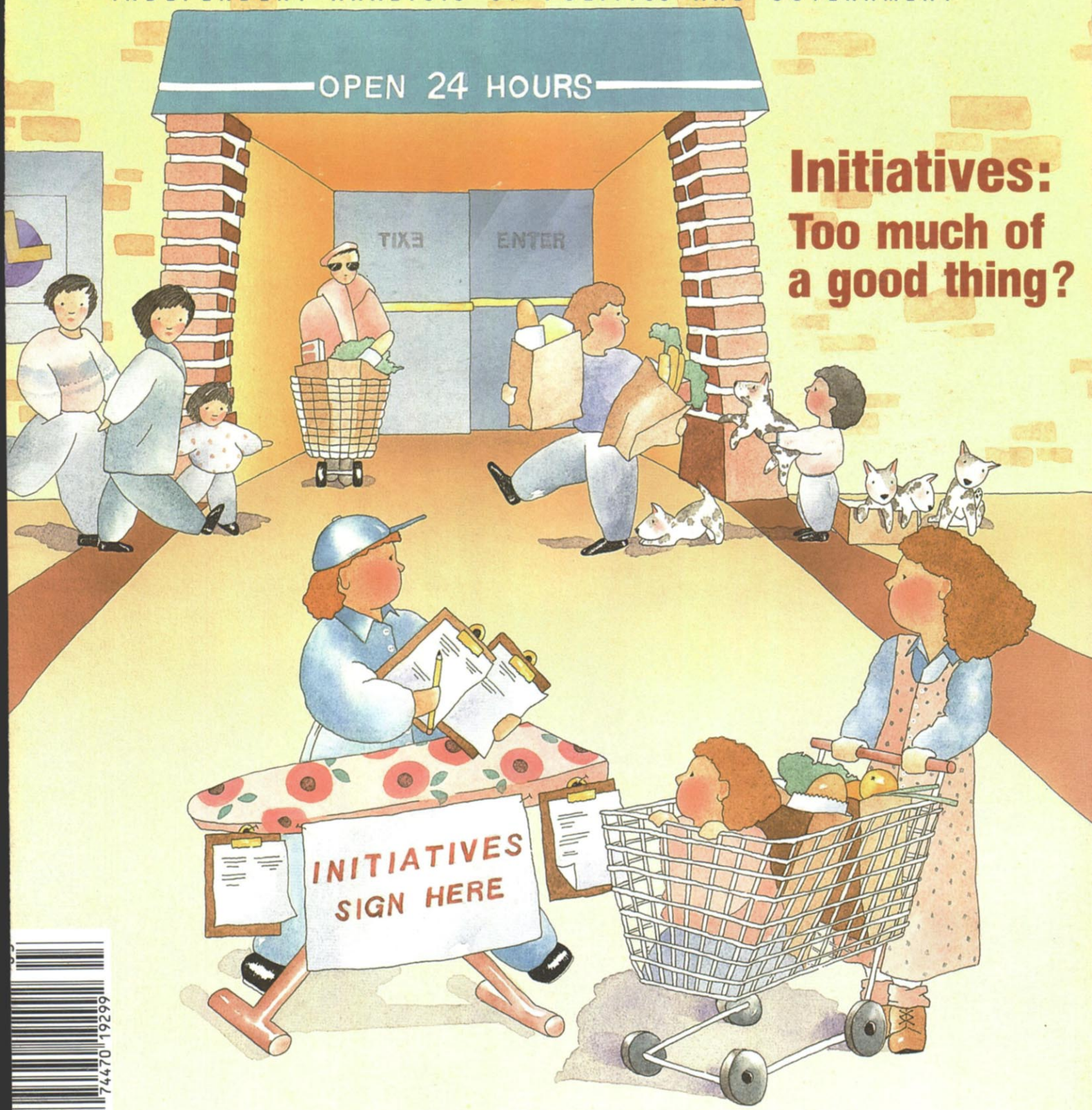
INDEPENDENT ANALYSIS OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT



Initiatives: Too much of a good thing?

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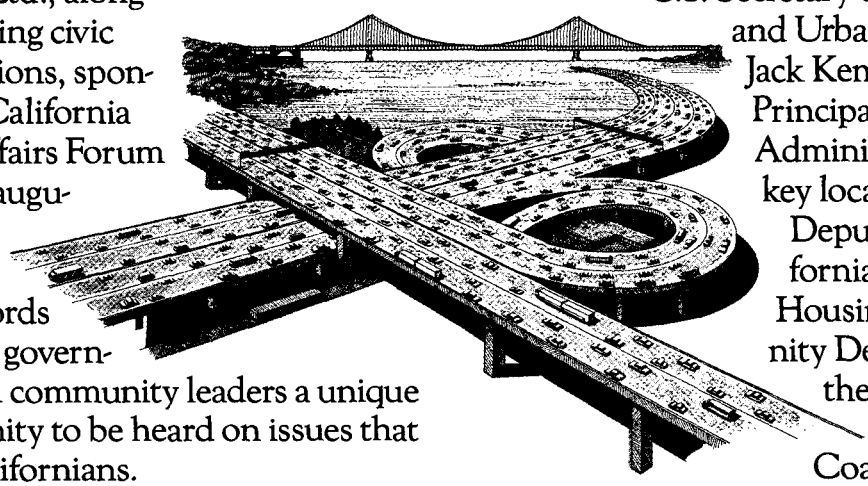

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MARCH 1991
VOLUME XXII, NUMBER 3

California JOURNAL

Ethics "education" **112**
The Senate and Assembly differed in their approaches to ethics training. By A.G. Block

Initiatives **116**
Is California suffering from too much of a good thing when it comes to its initiative process?
By Charles Price and Robert Waste

New textbooks **121**
The state recently adopted a new history framework, complete with new textbooks that some critics charge still offend minorities. By Dexter Waugh

A *Roster* update **128**
Last month's Roster and Government Guide *included interim Senate committees. The permanent committees have now been appointed.*

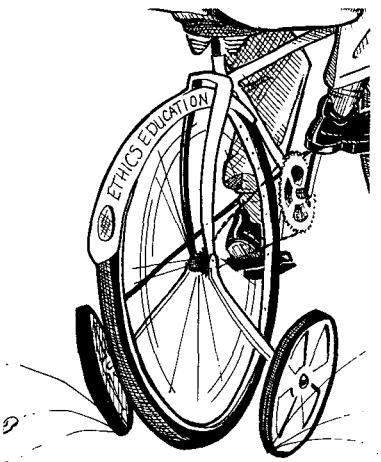
A system on the verge **130**
How do you describe California's mental-health system? It's nuts.
By Jeanie Esajian

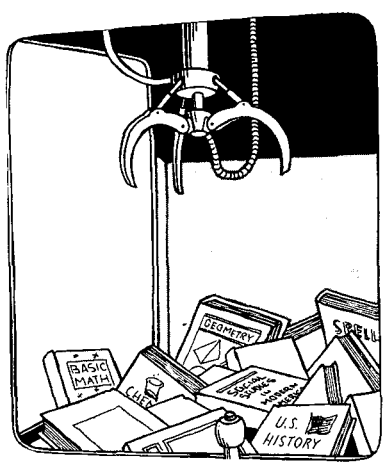
Pro-lifers in San Diego **135**
Anti-abortion forces have made strong political gains in Pete Wilson's backyard By Tim W. Ferguson

Who's liberal; who's conservative **138**
California Journal's third survey of who's liberal and who's conservative in the state Legislature.

A bigger UC? **141**
Soothing friction between town and gown, UC adopts a "good neighbor policy." By Steve Kettmann and Jack Robinson

Up Front 110
Rostrum 111
Washington Perspective 148





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UP FRONT

Back of the bus. Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and the Sacramento press corps exchanged unpleasantries last month over the speaker's decision to exile the press to the back of the Assembly chambers "where you belong." It wasn't the best moment for either estate. The speaker tried gamely to claim that there wasn't any connection between his decision and the fact the house is now live on cable television, or, in fact, that he had changed the rules of the game at all (He was just enforcing rules that had always existed, he said, although they had never been enforced before. You can see where it might have been confusing). And the press corps implied that the action was some sort of major assault on the First Amendment. After all, if you can't stand on the side of the Assembly chamber and hiss until you get the attention of your favorite Assembly member, how will you ever get that last interview? As the debate went on, reporters asked whether the speaker would now enforce other long-neglected rules, such as the prohibition against members "ghost voting" for one another on the floor. As position s hardened, the speaker made the improbable assertion that he had never seen any member "ghost vote" for a colleague. Even with his poor vision (which he cited), he must have at least wondered why there was all that sudden jumping and lunging whenever the voting bell sounded. The problem here is that the speaker is trying to make the Assembly something it's not: tidy, decorous, even, shall we say, deliberative. The state's lower house is rowdy, confusing, cantankerous and sometimes a little disorganized. Okay, that may not look too good on television, but, frankly, we like it that way. It doesn't mean that the Assembly can't make good law. And that, not image control, ought to be the speaker's real concern.

At the sound of the tone, empty your pockets. Even campaign fund raising has gone electronic. The latest wrinkle is a "voice mail" fund-raising system that, at the touch of a button, will allow you to make a pledge, find out when the next fund raiser will be held and learn the FPPC ID number of the proposed recipient. Oh yes, for a select few, there also is a "snitch code" that will allow one to learn who has made pledges, but not ponied up. The voice mail system we tried was run by Ron Lofstrum in Sacramento and it was taking pledges for Assembly members Rusty Areias, Jim Costa and Dave Elder and for Senators Diane Watson and Wadie Deddeh — Democrats all. Alas, there didn't seem to be a button to push if you want to tell your legislator to shove off.

Robert Canter, Oakland

He's back. Okay, let's go through a little Jerry Brown history. You remember him? He was the Brown that was governor right *after* Ronald Reagan and just *before* George Deukmejian. He's the one that ran for president twice while he was governor and then for the U.S. Senate after his term was over, loosing all three times. Then he wandered in the political wilderness for a few years, learned from Mother Theresa, and reincarnated as the "new Jerry Brown" a couple of years ago, saying he wanted to be party chairman (although he'd spurned party activities when he was governor) because it was the *really* important job. And if he ever again wanted to run for anything again (and he wasn't saying he wanted to but he wasn't saying he didn't) you could judge him by just how good a job he did as chairman. He's also the same fellow who was trashed by Dianne Feinstein's campaign workers because of the lousy job they said he did as chairman, even though he said it wasn't all his fault. Well, here's the shocker. It turns out Jerry *does* want to run for office again. And he's willing to give up that great post as party chairman to do it. This month he'll step down so that he can run for the U.S. Senate yet again, most likely the seat now held by Alan Cranston. Oh, so far this year he's an antiwar liberal — but don't worry, the election season's young yet.

Last month, we said March Fong Eu was originally elected to the Assembly from San Francisco. Oakland. She was elected from Oakland, which continues to get no respect.

There is no fate that cannot be surmounted by scorn.
— Albert Camus

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." So, rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

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ROSTRUM

Term limits

Having actively worked on the concept of "citizen legislators" since Ronald Reagan's first inauguration in 1981, I would like to correct the statement that Attorney General John Van de Kamp was the first to propose a term-limit measure for California (see election analysis, *CJ*, December 1990). Gerry Partain, the former director of Forestry, and I filed the first, simple "Citizens' Legislators Initiative Amendment" on July 19, 1989, with the attorney general's office. Immediately after filing our initiative, we held a press conference on the Capitol steps. Only after the filing of our measure did Van de Kamp announce, in his "drain the swamp" speech, that he intended to support a similar initiative.

JOHN E. McDONALD, Santa Rosa

Recycling

Regarding your story on recycling (see "Recycling success?" *CJ*, November 1990), you reported that a glass glut was caused by the oversupply of secondary glass material. Actually, the glut was caused by the refusal of some glass wholesalers to utilize recycled glass in their production. In addition, some glass manufacturers closed their California operations after agreeing to buy back all of the material recycled in the state.

You also concluded that six out of 10 redeemable glass bottles sold in California comes back through the recycling programs "gumdrops." In fact, less that 6 percent of the beverage containers recycled in California are collected by convenience store/supermarket-site gumdrops. The other 94 percent is collected by previously established recycling methods and centers. Our center, established in 1971, collects as much material every two hours as a convenience zone gumdrop collects every month. "Gumdrops" is right; cute, with no substance.

More important, recycling is an environmental economic and social issue. Proponents of the state program — and the law that created it — perceive the glass glut (and recycling) more narrowly They see it simply as a landfill issue.

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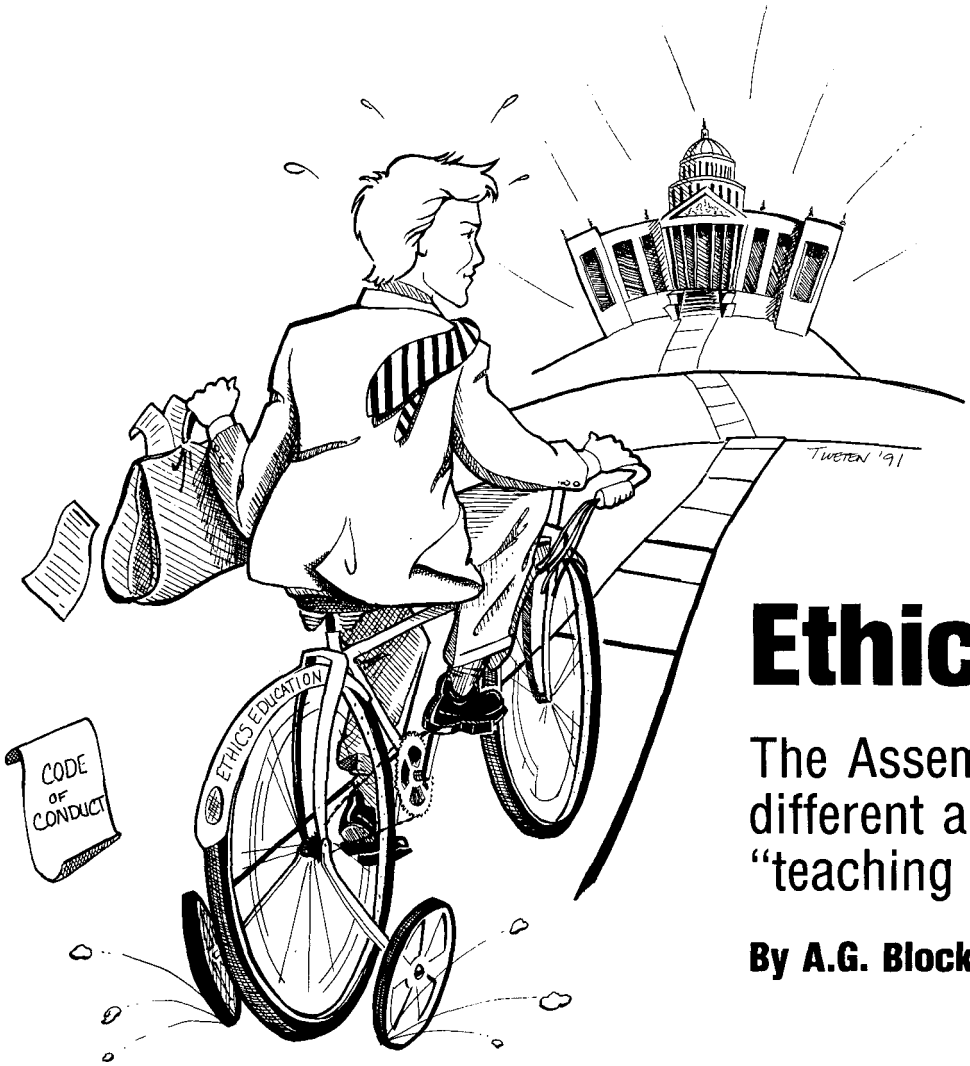

Ethics training

The Assembly and Senate take different approaches to "teaching ethics"

By A.G. Block

When voters passed Proposition 112 in June 1990, they mandated that everyone doing political business inside the state Capitol participate in an "ethics education" program: legislators, legislative staff, lobbyists — everyone. (Well, nearly everyone. Journalists were exempt.)

Proposition 112 was placed on the ballot by the Legislature itself. But ethics education wasn't the reason lawmakers devised the measure; if anything, they resented the notion. Proposition 112 primarily dealt with other issues that had become troublesome political problems — gifts and honoraria, the setting of legislative salaries, the revolving door that allowed former government officials to lobby government. Lawmakers didn't concede that these were necessarily *real* problems, but problems of public perception in the wake of an FBI "sting" operation that saw one senator convicted of political corruption (Joe Montoya) and a former senator on trial on similar charges (Paul Carpenter, since convicted). Ethics education was an afterthought meant to help address the perception, a bauble attached to a wide-ranging, legislative foray into behavior modification. Thus, there was no clear concept of what lawmakers meant when they inserted ethics education into the proposition. All they required was that such a class be held for all members, staff and lobbyists once in each two-year session. What, then, is ethics education? The teaching of right and wrong? The recitation of rules and regulations? The quickest, easiest compliance with a new law?

Judging by the disparate way the Legislature presented ethics training, there is little agreement on how to "teach" the subject to adult politicians, supplicants and those who serve them. The Joint Committee on Ethics recited the law to lobbyists. The Assembly put together a panel of legal technicians from the Fair Political Practices Commission, legislative counsel, the attorney general's office and the ethics committee to tell its members and staff what they *can* and *cannot* do under existing laws and regulations. The Senate, on the other hand, spent $85,000 to hire an ethics facilitator — Michael Josephson of the Marina Del Ray-based Josephson Institute for the Advancement of Ethics — who focused on what lawmakers *should* and *should not* do.

To explore which approach best provided "ethics education," one first must travel to Paris, to visit its most famous landmark — the Eiffel Tower.

In one of his most famous essays on modern mythology, Roland Barthes explained two ways to explore the Eiffel Tower: from the outside, which restricts one to its base; and from the inside, which leads one to its summit. From the former, Barthes suggested, the Tower is "a nothing monument." From the latter, the Tower becomes a vehicle for oneiric visions and for an intellectual and historic understanding of Paris unattainable at the base.

From the outside, one sees the science of the Tower, the architecture of it — the nuts and bolts and girders

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and plates and beams and grillwork and lights. Viewed from the base, the Eiffel Tower is a jumble of engineering masquerading as substance. This is its great irony, for the Tower has no substance. There are not even walls. It isn't a museum, nor has it any historical significance.

But once inside the Tower, the architecture evolves into a mosaic of interconnected stairways and platforms that one follows in a kind of repetitive symmetry toward the summit, where the Tower itself disappears but where the notion of the Tower takes on a renewed and ultimate significance — that of a belvedere, an observatory, from which the grand panorama of Paris unfolds from what Barthes calls "a bird's eye view."

To experience the Tower only from its base is to miss its true significance. Yet, to experience the Tower only from its summit is to live in the abstract and to fail to understand the precise science that created it. Thus to truly know and appreciate the Eiffel Tower in its wholeness, one must experience both base and summit.

Ethics education, too, may be approached in several ways. From the "outside," it is a technical discourse on laws and regulations. From the "summit," however, it is an abstract lecture on right and wrong, on morality, on proper behavior in an intense and competitive political universe. Or, it may be approached from both perspectives: familiarity with the law coupled with dialogues on behavior that are more visionary than the law itself.

The Assembly chose the technical approach, with the Joint Committee on Ethics as its tour guide. (Ethics training for lobbyists was also designed by the committee and followed a similar pattern.) Nearly every nut and bolt was examined; few laws, regulations, rules, reporting procedures or technicalities were omitted.

"I won't call it 'ethics training' because I don't think that's what it was, nor do I believe that was the intention of the course," said Michael Galizio, chief of staff to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. "It was a 'standard of official conduct' course related to the rules and regulations and the laws on the books. It had to do with what you can and can't do on state time. We [staff and members] need to know where the line is drawn between breaking the law and not breaking the law."

As a result, Assembly members and staff were treated to the "dos" and "don'ts," what one senior staffer called "a careful review of the government code, standards of official conduct section, as well as regulations devised by the FPPC after the passage of Proposition 112." In addition, a consultant from the ethics committee reviewed the committee's mandate, as well as its procedures and rules regarding violations of the law.

"People need to understand the rules," said Galizio, who spoke to staff prior to their seminar. "They are so complicated, so detailed and so mysteriously put together that if they [staff and members] don't understand it, they can fall into the trap of not meeting the regulations by accident. So, there was a conscious effort ... to go in the direction of 'let's give them the basic understanding of the rules and regulations.'"

Several members agreed with that approach.

"We all know right from wrong," said Republican Paul Woodruff of Yucaipa. "But we need to know the gray areas because ... right and wrong in your mind may be one thing but the law is another thing. The class turned technical because most of us, in our hearts, assume we know right from wrong."

"The class turned technical because most of us, in our hearts, assume we know right from wrong."

— Paul Woodruff

"This kind of ethics training [a review of rules and regulations] was very necessary," said Xavier Becerra, a freshman Democrat from Los Angeles who echoed the sentiments of other members and staff. "The area has become so technical, and unless you know the laws very well, you're going to have some problems. It's a battle to know what technicalities are right and wrong. They can't teach you what your moral values should be."

But a few members, while appreciative of the effort, thought there should have been more.

"It wasn't great," said Delaine Eastin, a Fremont Democrat who tempered her criticism by adding that this was the first such training class and that future seminars might improve. But Eastin thought the session could have been more interactive, more provacative, more broad-ranged to encompass discussions about behavior.

"Ethics problems aren't confined to the Legislature," Eastin said. "When you talk with young people, they seem to feel that unions are crooked and business is crooked and the politicians are crooked and the police are crooked. People used to trust in one another ... but now, people are afraid of their neighbors. Consumers don't feel good about the products they buy; they worry that someone is knowingly trying to hurt them. They look at politicians and see how we're influenced. Somewhere along the line, we need to convince people that there are good people, and this is what a good person looks like, this is how a good person behaves. We need to educate people about what ethical behavior looks like."

Nothing in the Assembly's ethics training, says Eastin, is likely to change the notion, held by some lawmakers and political staff, that the legislative universe is a kind of ideological warfare where the ends justify the means. Would some exploration of ethical behavior — for instance, the incident a few years ago where Assembly Republicans forged Ronald Reagan's signature on a campaign hit piece — help soften that confrontational attitude, she wondered?

Perhaps the most thoughtful analysis of the Assembly's ethics seminar was expressed by Paul Press, a consultant to the Assembly Health Committee and a 14-year veteran of legislative wars. Ethics education, he said, "ought to reinforce the good impulses that people have to the point where they refuse to engage in things that, in their gut, they feel are not appropriate. If you have no good impulses to begin with, then this may be like trying to farm barren land. But most people here do have good impulses."

What the Assembly session seemed to ignore was any reflection on the dilemma of power and accomplishment, where knowledge struggles with perception and each member of a community must search for correct modes of behavior. "The dilemma of what goes on here," said Press, "revolves around what you have to do to get your agenda advanced if you're not in power to advance it, and what you do to gain power and how far do you have to compromise to stay in power. Some of the things that may be neces-

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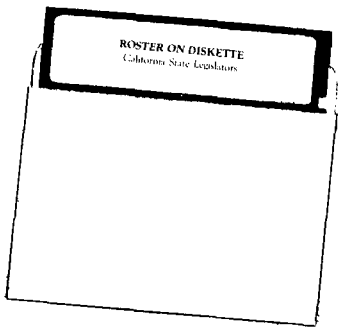

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sary to stay in power may be distasteful. Would a discussion of these dilemmas be useful [in an ethics seminar]? Yes. Would they make this a more ethical place? I don't know."

According to many who attended the closed Assembly seminars, members and staff never had the opportunity to discuss these dilemmas, for the entire program was given over to discussions of the technicalities of the law. The lobbyists' seminar, too, dealt only with technicalities.

The Senate, on the other hand, took the opposite approach when it hired Michael Josephson.

"We wanted to make the program more meaningful," said Cliff Berg, chief executive officer of the Senate Rules Committee. "We thought that members especially might take the program more seriously if the subject was presented by someone ... with a national reputation and credentials of expertise. It would be difficult for staff to do this because staff works for the members, and they would be put in a position of lecturing members on proper and improper conduct. An outside expert would have more credibility."

According to Berg, the seminar included some presentation of law, regulations and rules on subjects like conflict-of-interest, honoraria and gifts, as well as a review of existing laws and statutes governing political corruption. But the program used those nuts and bolts as a starting point for a deeper exploration of behavior.

"The straight presentation of laws would not lend itself to being stimulating or engage members in the mental thought process involving ethical standards," said Berg. "The easy thing to do is have [Legislative Counsel] Bion Gregory lecture on the law. But the learning curve drops dramatically after about 15 minutes of that stuff. You may satisfy the requirement [of Proposition 112] but you won't provide the kind of meaningful, thought-provoking issues that we felt were important."

Berg indicated that the Rules Committee told Josephson what subjects it wanted covered in the seminar, then gave him *carte blanche* to devise the program.

For his part, Josephson says he came to the job with one overriding mission — to make senators and their staff "more sensitive to the principles of public-service ethics; not just the written rules but the underlying ethical principles from where the rules come — never use public office for private gain; be accountable; be responsive; and exercise independent judgment.

"Most people are in public service because they want to serve," said Josephson. "But they get overly consumed with staying in power, and so some gamesmanship rules begin to apply. But the idealist isn't that far below the surface."

His job, he concludes, was to scratch the idealism.

To do this, Josephson first sought to give members and staff a foundation in the law, and for this he brought in a panel that included two political journalists (neither of whom cover California politics), a federal prosecutor, Legislative Counsel Gregory, senator-turned-lobbyist Dennis Carpenter, representatives from the FPPC and from the Joint Committee on Ethics.

But the strategy was to move the discussion far beyond legal technicalities. "This is a complex body of laws," Josephson explained. "It's inconsistent, with differing standards, and it can be very technical. And to restrict the entire program just to the law is too narrow and too confusing. It's very difficult to just tell someone what they can and can't do. Even lawyers disagree about what you can do. If you look at it as a matter of law, you increase the frustration. I wanted to give an understanding of the law, but also of the ethics behind the law."

And Josephson disputed the notion that people intrinsically know right from wrong and therefore only need to know the letter of the law to act ethically. "To say [you know right from wrong] assumes that every ethical situation is merely a matter of conscience and that the solution is obvious," he said. "There is hardly one problem worth discussing that is not a difficult and subtle problem that requires a grounding in public-service ethics."

By way of example, Josephson cited the results of a survey sent to members and staff prior to the seminar. Among other things, the survey asked respondents to rate 60 behavioral situations on a scale ranging from obviously ethical to obviously unethical. On every question, Josephson reported, 10 percent of respondents said the behavior was obviously ethical and 10 percent said it was obviously unethical. Thus, he concluded, "no answer is self-evident" when Capitol insiders cannot agree on the ethical response to a dilemma.

Not everyone who took the Senate's course agreed with Josephson's approach — or Josephson's presence.

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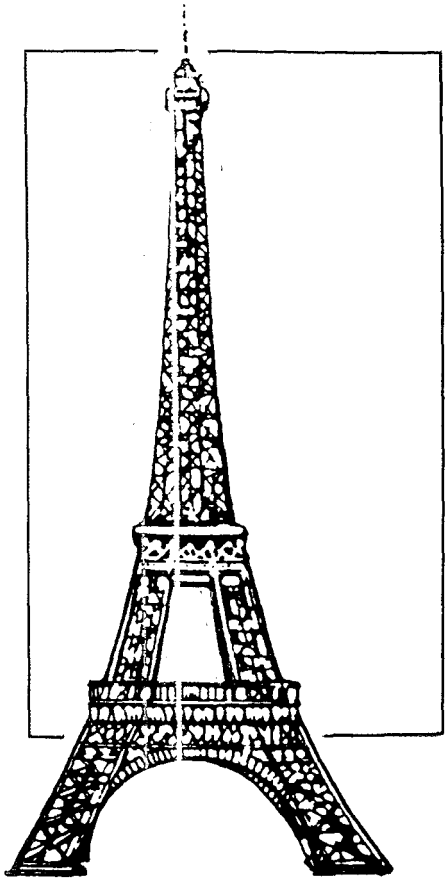

Said Senator Diane Watson, a Democrat from Los Angeles, "It's most meaningful to have the FPPC, the attorney general, legislative counsel, the ethics committee. These are the people responsible for implementing the system. They have a relationship with the Legislature. Ethical and unethical, that's too abstract. Legal and illegal is concrete. People need to understand what you can and can't do, and you can't do this by bringing in an ethicist. You can't be lectured at. You need the technical people to discuss the law."

"Your first and foremost mission is to make sure everyone understands the law," said Senator Ed Davis, a Chatsworth Republican. "I'm not sure you can make an unethical person ethical. You might only make them more cautious."

But others thought Josephson's participation valuable.

"Most of us have been around long enough to know what is legal and illegal," said GOP Senator Marian Bergeson of Newport Beach. "But under what circumstances is it ethical? You can't be a purist. You have to have judgment, and judgment calls for a decision that is appropriate to a situation. The value of [the Senate ethics seminar] was to help us walk through issues and use our own thinking to evaluate behavior under certain circumstances."

"Maybe you can't teach morality," said Peter Detwiler, a consultant to the Senate Transportation Committee. "But I've wanted the opportunity to explore [ethical issues] with my colleagues and with someone who seems to know something about ethics. This seminar seems to offer us the chance to be reflective about our obligations as public servants. It's not meant to teach us what to think, but how to think."

Ethics education meant different things to each house of the Legislature, and each house accomplished certain goals with its program. But like exploring the Eiffel Tower, the Senate seemed to provide its members and staff with a more complete "panorama" of thought on ethics. The Assembly seemed content to remain "outside," to examine the technical nuts and bolts but not to use the complete architecture for a broader examination of ethical behavior. (It is also interesting to note that the Senate has recently established a special committee on ethics, while the Assembly abolished its year-old select committee on ethics. The Joint Committee on Ethics, chaired by GOP Assemblyman Bill Lancaster of Covina, remains.)

The laws and regulations that form the boundaries of legal behavior in the political universe are, like the Eiffel Tower, a complex, often confusing structure. Viewed from the outside, the Tower is meaningless and somewhat ugly. Yet, some choose only this view and come away from Paris with a distorted and incomplete notion of both the Tower and the city it has come to symbolize. Others choose to explore its interior, and thus use it as a means to achieve a deeper appreciation of the structure itself and a panoramic understanding of Paris.

One more observation applies to both the Eiffel Tower in Paris and ethics in a political universe: They are omnipresent, inescapable, engraved into the very heart of the landscape. No matter where one stands in Paris, the Tower is there. No matter how one behaves or what decisions one faces in a political universe, ethical considerations are there. Which is why the Assembly's approach is reminicient of a anecdote about the French writer, Guy de Maupassant. According to Roland Barthes, Maupassant often took lunch at a restaurant located inside the Eiffel Tower, even though he did not care for the food. "It was the only place in Paris," Barthes reported Maupassant as saying, "where I don't have to see it."

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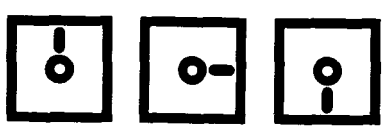

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Initiatives: too much of a good thing?

By Charles Price and Robert Waste

The old bromide about the weather — "Everybody talks about it, but nobody can do anything about it" — has also been true of California's initiative process. For years, critics of this direct-democracy technique have complained about the problems and abuses inherent in the process. But thus far, efforts to substantially reform the initiative have failed.

Politicians have usually been wary of proposing major changes because the initiative has always been popular with the public. As a result, initiative procedures today are approximately the same as in 1911 when the process was first adopted, even though the state's population-growth now mandates the collection of hundreds of thousands of signatures (5 percent of the vote cast for governor in the most recent election for statute initiatives; 8 percent for constitutional amendments) before a measure can qualify for the ballot.

Despite the hurdle, the initiative process is more popular than ever. Modern campaign methods, including computerized mailing of petitions and paid circulators, have encouraged those who can raise the necessary $1 million or so to bypass the Legislature and go directly to the public.

However, there are indications that the public, deluged by ballot measures in the past few years and faced with an increasingly complex array of issues to discern, now may be willing to accept some changes in the initiative procedure. Some legislators have quickly stepped in and are proposing major alterations in the state's process of direct democracy.

The initiative was promoted by reformist Progressives early this century as a last resort technique for the public. If the Legislature were corrupt or controlled by special interests or party bosses, voters using the initiative process could adopt laws and constitutional amendments without the Legislature or governor. During the early decades of this century the initiative was employed frequently. But by the 1940s, during World War II and in the years immediately afterwards, initiative activity declined sharply. However, in the 1970s-80s and in 1990, there has been a tremendous resurgence of initiative activity.

The number of initiatives filed has nearly doubled each decade from the 1950s to the 1990s. More initiatives have been filed in a single year, 1990, than in entire decades from the 1910s through the 1960s. Intriguingly, while only about one-third of initiatives were approved by voters up to 1979, in the 1980s nearly one-half were approved.

There are a number of reasons for this surge in initiative activity, including the development of a professional petition industry — petition companies, initiative attorneys and campaign consultants whose livelihood depends on a continual fresh flow of initiatives; a public angered by legislative inaction and political scandals; the success of some efforts, such as property tax-slashing Proposition 13; the growth of single-issue politics; increasing use of counter-initiatives (groups threatened by an initiative place an alternative initiative on the ballot); and a growing trend towards elected officials authoring initiatives as part of their campaign strategy in running for statewide office.

When only a few initiatives qualified for each ballot, the process was grudgingly accepted by state officeholders. However, adoption by voters of the Political Reform Act (Proposition 9, 1974), the Gann state spending limitation initiative (Proposition 4, 1979) and, perhaps most important, the term-limit initiative (Proposition 140, 1990) which may cut legislative careers to a maximum of six or eight years, angered a great many public officials. Through the mid-1980s, however, polls showed the public overwhelmingly supported the initiative process. Mervin Field reported in 1979 that 83 percent of the California public thought the initiative was a "good thing," while only 5 percent thought it was a "bad thing." The public seemed to agree with the theme of the "yes on Proposition 13" campaign — the initiative was a good way to "teach the politicians a lesson." Therefore, attempts by various, mainly Democratic California legislators to reform the initiative (usually proposals to make it harder to qualify initiatives — e.g., raising the filing fee or requiring that petitions be signed in a certain number of counties) were regularly defeated. In addition, in *Meyer v. Grant* (1988), a federal court ruled that states could not prohibit paid signature soliciting — a favorite target of initiative critics.

However, the convergence of a number of factors indicates that for the first time this century the time may be ripe for significant initiative reform. Why is this so?

- First, clearly, the public was very unhappy with the number of voting decisions facing them in the 1988 and 1990 elections, caused mostly by the number of initiatives on those ballots. An all-time record number of initiatives, 18, qualified in 1988; two years later, this figure was equaled when another 18 initiatives appeared on the primary and general election ballots. However, ballot length was not simply a result of too many initiatives. As Bill Arno of American Petition Consultants noted, "Actually, there were more legislatively referred measures than initiatives on the 1990 ballot, and if the Legislature had been doing its job there wouldn't have been so many initiatives."
- Second, the public was upset with the length, complexity and confusing nature of many of the 1988-90 initiatives. The 1990 Ballot "Pamphlet" and supplement came to 221 pages of complicated legal argument. In this vein, pollster Mervin Field reports that public support for the initia-

Charles Price and Robert Waste are political science professors at California State University, Chico.

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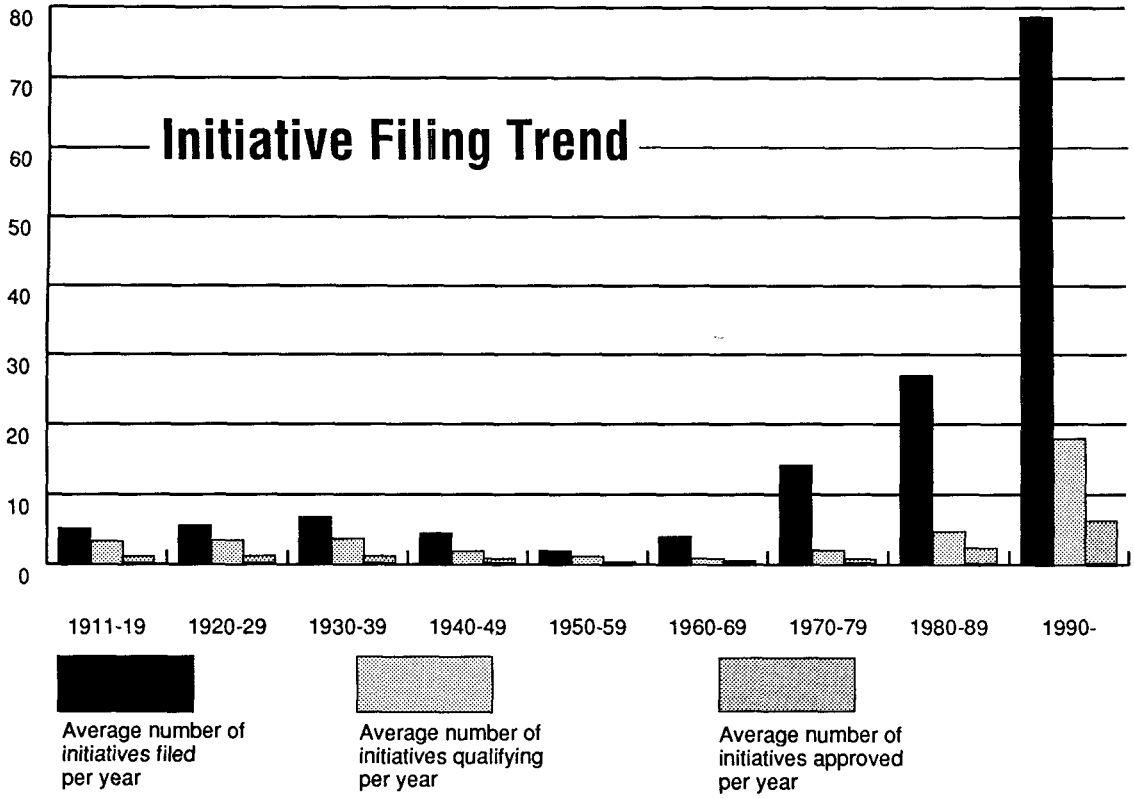

tive process has declined 16 percent since 1979. Currently, "only" 66 percent of Californians view the initiative as a "good thing."

• Third, initiatives have not been faring well in the courts lately, and this adds to public frustration over the process. Thus, just a few weeks prior to the November 1990 general election, Propositions 73 and 68 — two campaign-finance initiatives approved by voters in June 1988 — were declared unconstitutional. In addition, Proposition 103 — the auto-insurance rate-reduction initiative from November 1988 — has been so enmeshed in legal challenge that public hopes for quick insurance-rate reductions went unrealized. However, two years after the adoption of Proposition 103, State Farm Mutual in December 1990 under a plan approved by the Department of Insurance will substantially lower its rates for "good" drivers. The courts even stepped in and voided Proposition 105, an omnibus "consumer protection" measure that required disclosure of everything from insurance policies to household toxics on the previously uninvoked restriction in the state constitution requiring initiatives to deal only with a "single subject."

• Fourth, there is growing public resentment over the devious, deceptive and expensive media campaigns by initiative sponsors and opponents. In addition, the new trend evidenced in 1988 and 1990 revolves around electoral competition between environmental or political reform groups and their corporate opponents. If the former gets its initiative on the ballot, the latter will hire a petition firm to put forward its own counter-initiative on the same topic. There were four sets of counter-initiatives on the November 1990 ballot, while in the November 1988 election, five separate initiatives focused on auto insurance. Counter-initiatives have one main objective: confuse voters. As Kelly Kimball of Kimball Petition Management stated, "I'm disgusted with groups that put measures on the ballot to confuse and deceive voters, and who prefer that their counter-measures don't pass. Enough's enough."

• Fifth, many officeholders were bitter that a majority of the electorate would support the term-limits initiative, which not only cut short legislative careers but imposed a nearly 40 percent reduction in the Legislature's own budget, causing widespread layoffs among legislative staff and did away with legislators' retirement benefits.

• Sixth, there was a massive "no" vote registered against most of the initiatives (10 of 13) and most of the other propositions and bond measures on the 1990 general-election ballot. As Democratic Senator Milton Marks of San Francisco noted, "The outcome of the November [1990] election was a clear indictment of the initiative process."

• Seventh, many of the major players in the state's initiative industry — for example, Ted Costa, executive director of the Paul Gann People's Advocate, and petition circulators Kelly Kimball and Bill Arno — now believe the process needs to be reformed.

• Eighth, rejection by voters of Proposition 137 (November 1990), an initiative designed to make it more difficult to reform the initiative process (it would have required a majority vote of the public before any change could be made in the initiative process) and recent Mervin Field polls indicate growing public support for initiative reform. Joel Fox, executive director of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, said, "The public's rejection of Proposition 137 caught me by complete surprise."

Thus, there is at least some support among officeholders from both parties and the public that special interests have tended to monopolize and control the initiative process and that reforms are needed. What is not clear is the shape reforms should take. Should reform aim at discouraging use of the initiative, as some legislators want? Or, should reform aim at restoring the process to the people? And, as both Kelly Kimball and Bill Arno noted, if the Legislature adopts measures to make it more difficult to qualify initiatives, this will benefit their petition-for-hire companies because they will be the only ones around who have the ex-

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pertise to co lect the hundreds of thousands of signatures needed.

Among the various reforms being proposed by elected officials, Senate Republican leader Ken Maddy of Fresno has proposed a constitutional amendment to more clearly express the single-subject initiative requirement — "An initiative measure embracing more than one subject may not be submitted to the electors or have any effect."

Should Maddy's bill pass, initiative provisions would have to be reasonably germane and interdependent with other provisions of the measure. Of course, what is "reasonably germane" is subjective and subject to court interpretation. Ironically, the Maddy bill passed the Senate but failed in the Assembly last year when it was *joined* to a proposal to move the presidential primary ahead.

Opponents of "Big Green" (Proposition 128, November 1990) argued that it failed to meet the single-subject requirement, but since it was not approved the question is moot. Proposition 105, the court-voided consumer-information initiative approved by voters in November 1988, had five separate sub-categories — toxic substances, fraudulent health insurance, nursing homes, initiative campaign funds and stock-selling corporations conducting business in South Africa. Although the court acted in this case, it historically has been loathe to do so. The last time the court struck down an initiative for violation of this principle was 1948. Unquestionably, lengthy propositions with many subsections complicate decision making for voters but agreeing on what is "reasonably germane" is not easy.

Among other legislators who favor reform of the initiative, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown of San Francisco favors having initiatives voted upon only during general elections, not during primaries, because of the poor turnout in these June contests. (Of course, the percentage voting in the general election these days is not very high either). If this were implemented, it would mean the general-election ballot would be substantially longer and might further voter frustration.

Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti has suggested that initiative petitions should have to obtain signatures in a certain number of counties. Democratic Senator Gary Hart of Santa Barbara is contemplating legislation to prohibit bond issue initiatives. Independent Senator Quentin Kopp unsuccessfully authored a bill in the last legislative session aimed at discouraging initiative proponents from building support for their measures by offering groups who joined the coalition funding from the measure for their pet projects. Of course, log-rolling is a long-time practice in the Legislature. Proponents raise money for their initiatives, then pay themselves substantial consulting fees from the campaign treasury. Marks stated, "We need to somehow take away the profit involved with initiatives."

Republican Assemblyman Stan Statham is the author of AB 3148 which was signed into law by former Governor George Deukmejian. This law requires a notice that the petition may be circulated by either a volunteer or by a paid signature gatherer, and the public has the right to inquire as to the circulator's status.

Statham noted that, "Not a soul at the Capitol doesn't know that the initiative process is warped and out of control." Democratic Assemblywoman Jackie Speier of South San Francisco proposed in a bill last session that the Secretary of State do a legal analysis of a proposed initiative to ensure the proposal was in proper legal form. At present, initiative proponents can seek aid from the Legislative Counsel in drafting their proposals. But, according to Ted

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Costa, when he asked the Counsel's office for help in drafting an initiative, he was told that because of the passage of Proposition 13 and state spending limits, the counsel's office did not have sufficient staff to help him. Not surprisingly, initiative advocates worry that if the secretary of state's office or attorney general's office did a precirculation legal review of the initiative it could be partisanly-inspired because these are elected partisan officeholders.

UC Berkeley Professor Eugene Lee argues that "consideration be given to a minimum threshold in turnout, say, 50 percent of registered voters, as a condition of passage to ensure the 'people's voice' is heard." However, initiative advocates might well ask, why should this only affect initiatives? Shouldn't candidates be under the same proviso? And, since turnout in primaries is usually below 50 percent of those registered, how would we nominate our candidates? Lee also proposes that the Legislature and governor be allowed to amend and repeal statutory initiatives after a specified time and that the constitutional amendment initiative signature threshold percentage be raised from 8 percent to 10 percent.

Yet, while the time may be ripe for reform, there may be good reason to proceed slowly. There are always unanticipated consequences of any reform. In one sense, the abuse of the initiative process in 1990 was dealt with by the voters. They massively voted "no" — not a bad strategy considering all of the confusing proposals on that ballot. And, because they voted down so many measures, won't those who buy their way onto the ballot be less enthused about trying this tactic in 1992? Also, the election of Governor Pete Wilson may encourage environmentalists to pursue the legislative path once again. As Gerry Meral, executive director of the Planning and Conservation League, said, "The PCL had to go the initiative route because of Governor Deukmejian's obstinance. We may not have to do this with Wilson."

It should be emphasized: An overwhelming majority of the public (66 percent according to Field) still supports the initiative. Efforts to discourage initiative use according to Ted Costa might lead to a coalescence of interest groups ranging from Tom Hayden's Campaign California, Harvey Rosenfield's Voter Revolt, Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Group, environmental groups such as the Planning and Conservation League and Sierra Club on the left of the political spectrum to Ted Costa's People's Advocate, Richard Gann, Ralph Morrell, and Joel Fox of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association on the right. These disparate groups might be willing to pull together to thwart legislative attempts to discourage initiative use.

Finally, are initiatives the central problem facing California government? Democratic Assemblyman Ted Lempert of San Mateo, a member of the Assembly Elections and Reapportionment Committee, doesn't think so. "Initiatives are usually a yes or no on a basic idea. That's good and has its place but the Legislature is where the real work is done. That's where we have the hearings and make detailed policy. That's the level at which we have to get the people interested again. That's the real reform of all of this."

And echoing these sentiments, Martin Smith, political editor of *The Sacramento Bee* observes, "The problem is not so much initiative procedure as an underlying problem of government not working. Maybe something can be done at the margins with initiatives but the real disease is government that doesn't work and hasn't worked in at least 16 years of not very dynamic leadership."

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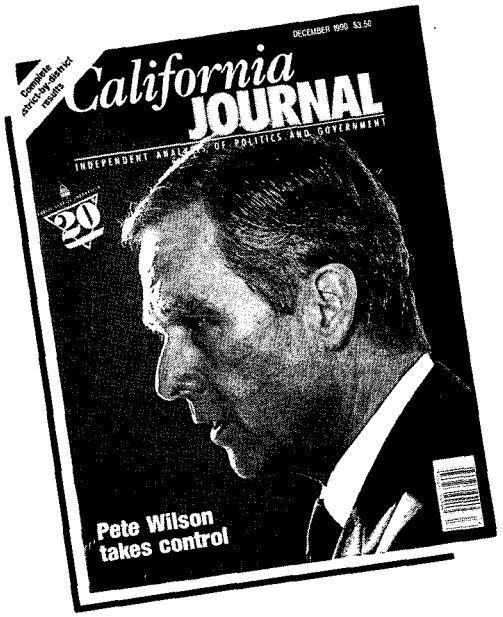

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California's history textbooks: Do they offend?

By Dexter Waugh

Upon the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation, school teachers in the Klamath-Trinity school district are contemplating two new history textbooks, trying to decide which to adopt for use in their classrooms.

One of them was approved by the state of California, the other wasn't. The teachers prefer the one the state rejected because they feel it deals more sensitively with Indian legends and beliefs. But they can't use state money to buy it.

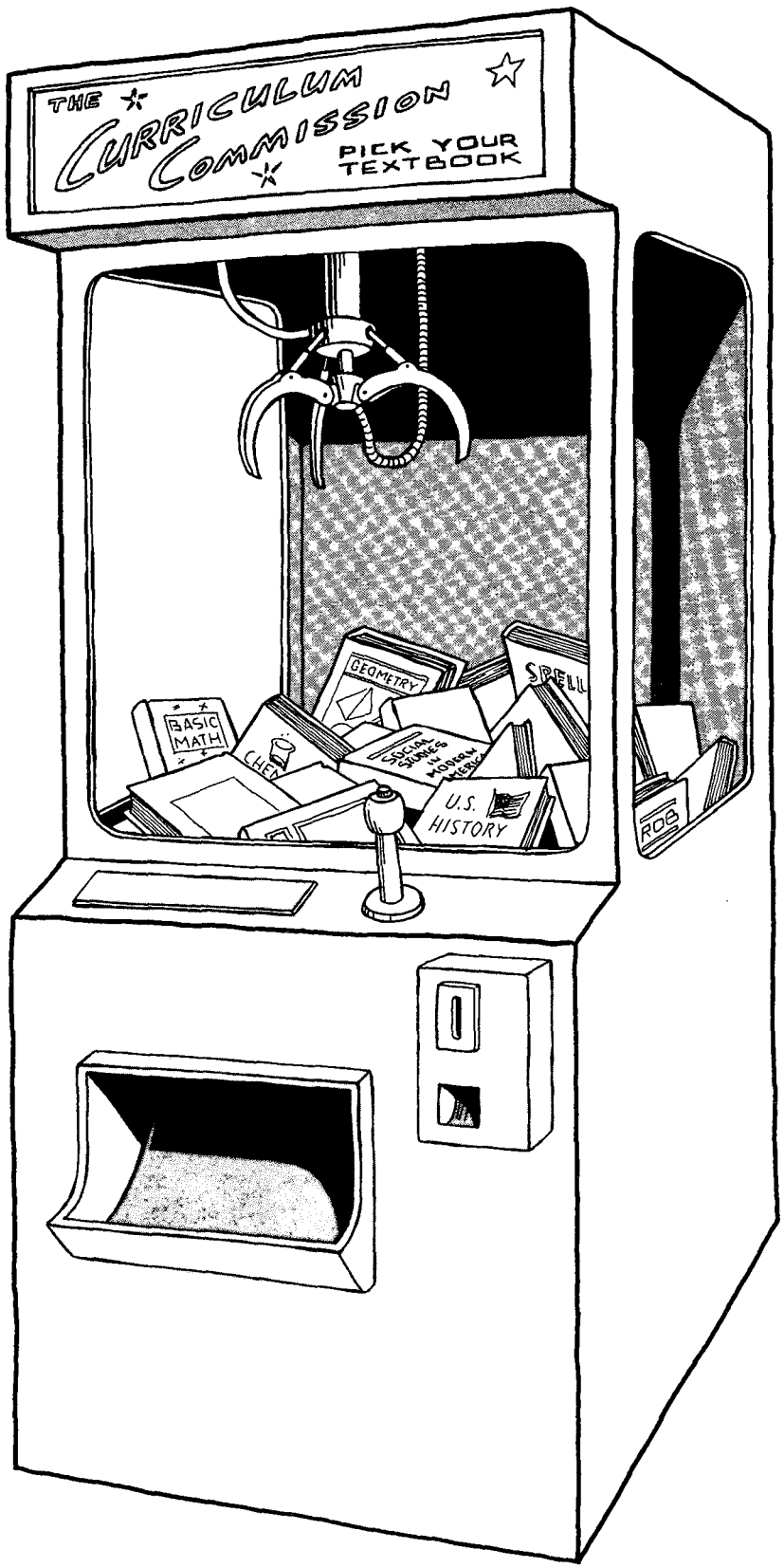
"I call it the 'Textbook Adoption from Hell.'" said Darline Giddings, the Klamath-Trinity district's textbook coordinator. "I thought this would be an easy adoption, but it has not been easy."

Although some school districts around the state have embraced the new state-approved textbooks, others with large ethnic minority student populations — Klamath-Trinity's is 50 percent Native American — wish that the state hadn't handed them a Hobson's choice

"The thing that bothers me most," said Giddings, "is that in education, we really need to give students choices, and they [the state] gave us no choice. It has really put everybody in a bind."

The new history and social science textbooks for California's 3.7 million elementary and junior high school youngsters were approved by the state in October, over the vehement protests of Blacks, Asians, Hispanics and Native Americans that the books still adhered to a White, European-immigrant perspective of history.

The top educational officials of the state, joined by most of the major media, rejected these critics while promoting the virtues of the new kindergarten through eighth grade textbooks published by Houghton Mifflin of Boston. During the weeks leading up to the October adoption by the state Board of Education, they were touted as the best history textbooks in generations — far better than any in the classrooms now. They are part of a major effort underway in the state to upgrade instructional materials and



Dexter Waugh is a San Francisco journalist.

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methods, and to tie them to new examinations that will allow parents and educators to measure the quality of individual schools.

California's adoption of the frameworks, and their integration with a new testing program, is widely praised in the education community and held up as a national model.

But as good as the new textbooks are, compared to what they could have been — compared to what many say is really needed not only by the ethnic minority youngsters who now make up a majority of the state school population, but White children, too — many believe the books are failures.

Only narrowly can these textbooks be seen to satisfy state education code requirements that instructional materials "accurately portray the cultural and racial diversity of our society," and to "instill in each child a sense of pride in his or her heritage, develop a feeling of self-worth related to equality of opportunity, eradicate the bases of prejudice."

California education officials had rejected all math textbooks in 1986 because they didn't meet state requirements. With this precedent, they could have done the same in 1990 with the history textbooks. The reasons they didn't were due as much to political considerations as to the textbooks themselves.

Hundreds of people — including a large cross-section of African, Asian and Native American, Hispanic and White parents and teachers — by their protests before the state board and the Curriculum Commission, demonstrated the gap that exists between the educational establishment and the growing need for racially and ethnically honest teaching materials.

The issue was first raised when Joyce King, a member of the Curriculum Commission and a professor of education at Santa Clara University, broke precedent by publicly castigating the Houghton Mifflin books prior to the commission's July vote on them.

"Although aspects of these books are a great improvement over existing materials, I feel an ethical and moral responsibility to oppose the adoption of instructional materials which violate the dignity and worth of people in any way," King told her colleagues.

King said the textbooks contained "egregious racial stereotyping," as well as "justifications and trivialization of unethical and inhumane social practices, namely racial slavery."

Most of her colleagues on the commission felt the specific faults she found in the books could be fixed with minor editorial changes. But King's critique went deeper — it required relooking at the textbooks from the standpoint of Asian, African, Mexican and Native Americans — and rethinking American history.

A fix here, a fix there, wouldn't be enough. "There is an underlying attitude and orientation and interpretation of historical fact that has to be dealt with," said Wade Nobles, an African American psychologist and professor at San Francisco State University.

After commission approval in July, over the dissenting votes of King and two others, the matter went up to the state board amid mushrooming numbers of complaints. The Legislative Black Caucus, besieged by constituents, urged the board to delay approval — perhaps even wait until more appropriate textbooks became available. New state law, they noted, allows publishers to submit books for approval every two years now, rather

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But the changing reality of the schoolhouse ran smack against political reality. In 1987 the state had approved a new history-social science curriculum, spelled out in a "framework," that dictated a dramatically different approach to how history and the social sciences would be taught. The new framework was so different from previous ones that state schools chief Bill Honig and other education officials worried that publishers might not come forward at all with books to match it, and would perhaps bypass California entirely.

Among other things, the new curriculum split up history courses into segments, so that survey textbooks covering the sweep of American history in one book, for instance, would no longer be suitable.

In fact, fewer publishers ultimately did submit books than in years past — nine, compared to 22 during the last adoption in 1983. Houghton Mifflin was the only publisher which submitted an entire K-8 series.

"That's the first time that's happened in years," said John Mockler, a Sacramento attorney representing the American Association of Publishers, a textbook industry association. "When you have a situation where more than one company doesn't submit, it puts immense pressure on the system."

The board's advisory body, the Curriculum Commission, acknowledged the "challenge" the framework posed to publishers. They were being "called upon to create a new product line for California. Few chose to do so, and it was a source of considerable concern ..."

Clearly, Honig saw the textbook adoption as a test case, a publishers' referendum, on the new curriculum he had promoted, and which was being hailed nationally as a significant advance. Some had called the framework too daring a departure. The only way that the framework could be proven to be a reasonable approach was if books could be found to match it; otherwise, it would become merely another blip in the long history of educational reforms.

This was, of course, a very real issue; but it had nothing to do with the criticisms raised by ethnic minorities. However, Honig's obsession with it may account for his constant, backhanded slapping at the critics. In remarks to newspaper reporters and on national network television (Peter Jennings' ABC news broadcast), Honig dismissed African and Asian American critics as mere "special interest groups" who were interested only in their own ethnic histories, who wanted only positive, not negative, things told — an unfair and false characterization which puzzled and offended some of the critics who had also supported him.

It also explains why momentum began building behind Houghton Mifflin's textbooks, after it became clear during the review process that they were the only ones that appeared to have been written specifically with California's framework in mind. In fact, state officials felt almost an "obligation" to approve the texts because of the publisher's efforts to follow the framework, an education department participant later told one local school district official.

There was little inclination, then, to consider the broader policy, history and educational issues raised by ethnic minority critics. Instead, the publisher — specifically UCLA historian Gary Nash, one of the four listed authors — narrowed the focus down on the more than 100 specific textual criticisms that came from African and Asian Americans and Hispanics, refuting far more than he agreed to change.

Curriculum Commission members who favored the Houghton Mifflin series, meanwhile, expended an enormous amount of energy explaining why the series was so exceptional, the adoption process so clean.

One hour before the state board's public hearing on the textbooks in September, board President Joseph Carrabino hosted a press conference with other state officials and Houghton Mifflin representatives, ostensibly to explain the selection process. Mainly, however, it was spent heaping official praise on the Houghton Mifflin textbooks, including press handouts that listed the higher number of references in them to ethnic minorities, compared to the relatively scant space afforded minorities in existing, now-outmoded textbooks.

This "by the numbers" argument, similar to the quota approach that the textbook industry used for years to answer public demands for more representation of ethnic minorities and women in textbooks, was repeated often by the publishers in the weeks following the September hearing.

After the press conference, close to 100 parents, teachers and advocacy groups arrived for the board's public hearing. To their chagrin, they were limited to speaking for only one minute each. The largest contingent — some 20 members of a Sacramento-based group of African American parents, teachers and school administrators — were limited to only two speakers. Seven representatives from Houghton Mifflin, on the other hand, were allowed to speak.

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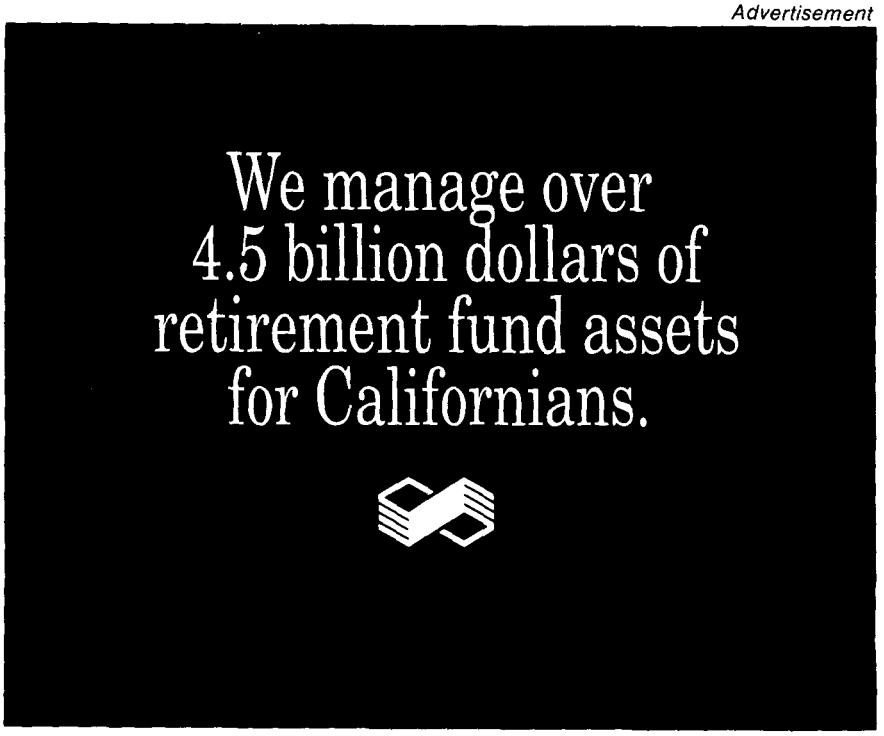

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The top aide to one Legislative Black Caucus member said the experience was a souring one. "People I spoke to are extremely frustrated," he said afterward. "There's no trust. They felt their concerns were not listened to, the whole public hearing was a mockery, a done deal."

The discontent spilled out of Sacramento and into local school districts, which have the hard choice (if they want to use state instructional materials funds) of purchasing only state-approved books, using existing texts, or seeking waivers to buy non-approved books with state money — a time-consuming process. In Oakland, Berkeley, Sacramento, Los Angeles, San Francisco, to name some of the larger districts, boards have chosen not to buy the Houghton Mifflin books or are studying the options.

In Berkeley, parents and their youngsters, some yelling through electric bull-horns, paraded outside the school board and halted a proposal to purchase. Emotions were high. "We will not let our kids carry around loaded guns, and we would not let them have these textbooks," said one parent, Beverly Slapin, author of a book on Native Americans who was offended by what she called Houghton Mifflin's inaccuracies and distortions.

The reason that education officials pushed so hard for these books and community activists, ethnic minority scholars, and parents are pushing so hard against them, lies in the great debate over how best to educate California's growing numbers of ethnic minority students.

Beyond that, the textbook controversy reflects an increasingly rancorous, national debate over what it means to be American, and what, exactly, is America — how do you reconcile its ethnic diversity with some sort of collective identity?

"There's a big ideological battle in the country over how we are going to interpret history," said Kitty Epstein, a professor of education at Holy Names College in Oakland. "I think what's needed is a thoroughly multicultural, anti-racist textbook. I don't think there's such a thing as a somewhat less-racist textbook. At this point we need a thorough integration of the curriculum, and one that is really accurate about the contributions of ethnic groups in this country."

The new framework actually calls on textbook publishers to do this. In addition it calls on publishers to discuss the world's great religions and their roles in shaping historical events, to not shy away from controversial topics, to engage students with lively narrative, to teach civic values and the Judeo-Christian, European roots of the nation's democratic institutions.

But critics say the most important element in the framework, if racial and ethnic tensions are ever to be reduced, is its call to teach students to respect other peoples, to develop "historical empathy" by allowing students "to see through the eyes of people who were there."

Supporters of the Houghton Mifflin books pointed to the increased number of references in them to ethnic minorities. But its critics argue that just having more pictures and references won't help young readers cross the bridge to empathetic identification. That depends largely on how the material is presented.

King, an African American, cited an illustration of an "Escaping Slave" in the fifth grade U.S. history textbook. Its description of the young Black man's eyes, feet, whiplashed back and clothing, she said, were "more akin to

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the description of an animal than of a human being." King said her two teenage youngsters reacted to the drawing in the same way.

But one of King's colleagues on the commission, Daniel Chernow, said he reacted differently to the picture. Chernow, who is White, said he "tried to be as sensitive as I could be, tried to see what Joyce saw, and I couldn't. I thought this evoked some empathy."

"I feel an ethical and moral responsibility to oppose the adoption of instructional materials which violate the dignity and worth of people in any way."
— Joyce King

It's doubtful whether the goals of the state's curriculum framework are being met by textbook materials which evoke empathy in White adults but not in Black students. Empathy is created for everyone when stories are told completely through the eyes of the participant, such as "Roots," Alex Haley's gripping story that traced his genealogy back to Africa.

Caribbean scholar Sylvia Wynter, a professor at Stanford University, said she had heard tales of Black youngsters actually stealing copies of Haley's book.

"The genius of 'Roots' was it was the first time Americans identified empathetically with Blacks. That's what I find lacking in these [Houghton Mifflin] books," she said. "You won't see Black kids stealing these books."

Wynter, a professor of Spanish and Portuguese as well as Afro-American Studies, submitted 85 pages of dissertation on the textbooks that received little attention at the state board. Her analysis of the theoretical basis underlying the conception of America in the textbooks, and how it serves to "marginalize" Blacks and other ethnic minorities, was by far the most rigorous, scholarly contribution to the textbook debate in California.

Yet it was referred to only in passing in the report to the board prepared by Elizabeth Stage, chairwoman of the Curriculum Commission, and by Charlotte Crabtree, chairwoman of the commission's history subject area committee. They threw it out on a technicality, as a "lengthy condemnation of the California Framework." The framework, which Stage and Crabtree referred to in their report as the "final authority," was not at issue here, they said — only the textbooks.

Wynter's critique, although buried in Sacramento, best explains the ideological debate between scholars like her and King on one side, and a network of historians and educators like Crabtree — one of the principal drafters of the California framework and a close associate at UCLA of one of the Houghton Mifflin textbook authors.

According to Wynter, the conception of America in the textbooks, as well as in the framework, is based on an immigrant model: Everyone, including native peoples, were immigrants. The history of America is a chronological one, a continuum, with a certain inevitability to the conquest of Indians and the take-over of their lands, the enslavement of Blacks, the development of democratic institutions based in the Judeo-Christian, European tradition. America today is a pluralistic society, built by immigrants who fought, struggled and ultimately came to subscribe to one, commonly held set of democratic values.

Looking at American history in this way, says Wynter, forces you to view Blacks as just another immigrant group.

In this approach, Wynter says, racism, instead of being the dominant factor in American history, becomes, in the European-immigrant model, downplayed — likened to the ethnic prejudice that greeted all immigrant newcomer groups, such as Poles, Italians, Germans, and Irish.

This model, by its very function, thrusts Blacks and Native Americans aside and marginalizes them. "Any recognition of the centrality of the history of Black America to the history of America necessarily challenges the conception of the United States as a 'nation of immigrants,'" she wrote.

Although only a partial perspective of American history, it is presented as if it were a universally valid one, says Wynter, who suggests that the authors were not even aware of their own cultural blinders.

Since the roles of ethnic minorities like African and Native Americans are so restricted, it's not possible for student readers to develop any empathy for them. Instead, "Liberal pity replaces empathic identification," says Wynter. That may be what Chernow was actually feeling when he looked at the picture of the "Escaping Slave."

Instead of the horizontal plain of the "common ground" that the textbooks' offer, Wynter argues that American society is really a vertical hier-

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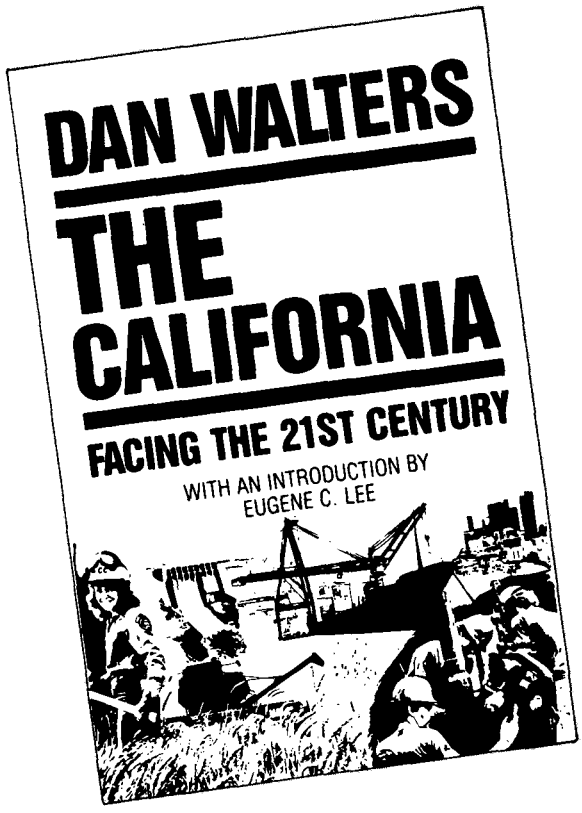

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archy built on race, and she calls for a "reconception of the United States, based on reciprocal recognition, rather than on hierarchy."

This would seem to offer many more possibilities than the immigrant model, which has always had at its base an assumption that newcomers, despite their Asian and Latino origins, would assimilate into a basically European-value society.

A model of reciprocity would make it easier to deal with the multicultural reality of California's increasingly diverse population by accepting and embracing cultural differences and acknowledging their value to America's economic, social, intellectual and ethical health. The immigrant model looks upon newcomers with suspicion, and thus is too slow to benefit from them, much less to make the drastic reforms necessary to educate them.

"Our economy and success as a society depend on how well we educate our young people and help them learn to live with racially and ethnically diverse neighbors and co-workers," said Lew Butler, chairman of the non-profit policy planning organization "California Tomorrow." But, he added, "We face a critical shortage of political will to make this happen."

Admittedly, the challenge raised by critics like Wynter was a difficult one. It was easier to dismiss Wynter's critique as simply an attack on the framework, which was not up for discussion.

Actually the framework's description of a multicultural perspective is sufficiently vague that textbooks written using Wynter's model could easily satisfy it. But that would have meant scrapping the Houghton Mifflin books and starting over — something the state's education leaders clearly were not willing to consider.

"Mere rewriting would not be enough," Wynter agreed.

There is an obvious antinomy between the state's rapidly changing demographics and the relative lack of importance ascribed to cultural diversity by state education officials. They ranked it as one of the 18 criteria that new textbooks must satisfy — and ranked it low at that. Narrative style is weighted much more heavily in scoring than cultural diversity. But, as demonstrated during the public debate, cultural diversity is the one that generated most of the attention and heat.

Significantly, cultural diversity was also the criteria where the Houghton Mifflin textbooks failed to impress the panel of teachers and professors assembled by the state to do the initial review of new textbooks last June. Using a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being the highest rating, the panelists tended to rank the Houghton Mifflin books in the middle, or 3, for meeting state guidelines for cultural diversity. (Out of their nine K-8 books, five were ranked moderate, one low and three high for cultural diversity).

According to Lew Butler, the state's adoption process may have been functionally appropriate in the days when Whites were the dominant majority. But it doesn't seem to be flexible enough to respond to today's "new majority" of ethnic minorities.

"African Americans and Latinos and Asians are struggling to make the books responsive to their interests, and then they are correspondingly charged with being interested in only their own culture. The whole process has become adversarial," said Butler.

Of course, African, Asian, Native Americans and Hispanics have been complaining about textbooks for years — at least 50 years in the case of Blacks (see Carter Woodson's 1933 book, "The Mis-Education of the Negro").

This year, they could have done more than ever before, but it's clear now that the will to do so was never there. In that light, a remark that Crabtree made during a keynote address to the textbook review panel's training session in March, takes on new irony:

"We have enormous buying power in this state. The schools have never used that power as they might in order to insist upon quality materials for their children. And that's your power now, and it's an awesome one."

The state stopped short of exercising that power to the fullest. The result was to give Houghton Mifflin a virtual lock on California. The publishers' success in marketing their books to a substantial number of local districts — something opponents are clearly trying to stop — will effectively discourage other publishers from developing material that might be more appropriate, and realistic, for California.

But King, like many African Americans in this country, has reconciled herself to taking the long view. "The real issues won't be defined by the state Board of Education, or the Curriculum Commission," said King, whose term on the commission, like Crabtree's, expired in October. "The political process will be defined really where democracy exists — in the hands of parents, consumers, teachers, who can get together and move this much farther than what the state board has been able to do."

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ROSTER UPDATE

SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES

The Senate Rules Committee appointed standing committees for the 1991-92 legislative session on Wednesday, February 8, 1991. The committees printed in last month's Roster *were interim committees.*

Agriculture & Water Resources
Chair: Ayala (D)
Democrats: C. Green, McCorquodale, Mello, Presley, Roberti, Thompson, Vuich
Republicans: Craven, Rogers
Consultant: Steven Macola
Secretary: Mona Summers
2090 State Capitol 445-2206
Meets: 1st and 3rd Tues, 9:30A, Room 112

Appropriations
Chair: Presley (D)
Democrats: Alquist, Ayala, Boatwright, Deddeh, Dills, Lockyer, Torres
Republicans: Davis, Bergeson, Beverly, Leonard
Consultant: Karen French
Secretary: Not available
2206 State Capitol 445-3284
Meets: Mondays, 9:30A, Room 4203

Banking, Commerce and Internt'l Trade
Chair: Vuich (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, Calderon, L. Greene, Johnston, Marks, Robbins, Thompson
Republicans: Beverly, Davis, Russell
Consultant: Terry J. Miller & Nick Vucinich
Secretary: Anna Andrews
2193 State Capitol 445-6306
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wed., 1:30, Room 3191

Budget & Fiscal Review
Chair: Alquist (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, Deddeh, Hart, McCorquodale, Petris, Robbins, Watson
Republicans: Hill, Morgan, Rogers, Royce
Consultant: Steve Larson
Secretary: Barbara Besson
4062 State Capitol 445-5202
Meets: Thursdays, 8:30A, Room 4203

Business and Professions
Chair: Boatwright (D)
Democrats: L.Greene, Hart, Keene, McCorquodale, Rosenthal
Republicans: Craven, Royce
Consultants: Michael Gomez & Jay DeFuria
Secretary: Robin Dunn
5046 State Capitol 445-3435
Meets: 2nd & 4th Mondays, 1:30, Room 3191

Constitutional Amendments
Chair: Royce (R)
Democrats: Alquist, Hart, McCorquodale
Republicans: Maddy
Consultant: Not available
Secretary: Alison Spake Thomas
4061 State Capitol 445-2802
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tuesday, 9:30A, Room 112

Education
Chair: Hart (D)
Democrats: Deddeh, Dills, C. Green, L. Greene, Johnston, Killea, Torres, Watson
Republicans: Morgan
Consultant: Bill Whiteneck
Secretary: Sandy Malosh
2053 State Capitol 445-2522
Meets: Wednesdays, 9:30A, Room 4203

Elections and Reapportionment
Chair: Marks (D)
Democrats: Boatwright, B. Greene, Lockyer, Roberti, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Bergeson, Beverly, Craven, Maddy
Consultant: Darren Chesin
Secretary: Frances Tibon-Estoista
5051 State Capitol 445-2601
Meets: 1st and 3rd Wednesdays, 9:30A, Room 3191

Energy & Public Utilities
Chair: Rosenthal (D)
Democrats: Alquist, L. Greene, Hart, Johnston, Killea, Mello
Republicans: Morgan, Russel
Consultants: Michael Shapiro & Paul Fadelli
Secretary: Patti Stearns
2035 State Capitol 445-9764
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues., 1:30P, Room 112

Governmental Organization
Chair: Dills (D)
Democrats: Alquist, B. Greene, Keene, Lockyer, Mello, Rosenthal, Torres
Republicans: Beverly, Hill, Maddy
Consultant: Lindsay Miller
Secretary: Billie Williams
5048 State Capitol 445-1193
Meets: Tues., 9:30A, Room 3191

Health and Human Services
Chair: Watson (D)
Democrats: Calderon, Deddeh, Mello, Rosenthal, Thompson
Republicans: Bergeson, Maddy, Royce
Consultants: Joyce Iseri, John Miller
Secretary: Geri La Duke
2191 State Capitol 445-5965
Meets: Wed., 1:30P, Room 4203

Housing & Urban Affairs
Chair: L.Greene (D)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Calderon, Killea, Marks
Republican: Leonard
Consultant: Krist A. Lane
Secretary: Clare Lagomarsino
2205 State Capitol 445-8740
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tuesday, 9:30A, Room 2040

Industrial Relations
Chair: B. Greene (D)
Democrats: L. Greene, Lockyer, Petris, Rosenthal
Republicans: Leonard, Royce
Consultant: Casey Young
Secretary: Nancy P. Fox
4039 State Capitol 445-1237
Meets: 2nd & 4th Wednesday, 9:30A, Room 2040

Insurance, Claims and Corporations
Chair: Robbins (D)
Democrats: Deddeh, C. Green, Keene, McCorquodale, Torres
Republicans: Davis, Rogers
Consultant: Sal Bianco
Secretary: Maureen Brooks
5122 State Capitol 445-0825
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wed., 1:30P, Room 112

Judiciary
Chair: Lockyer (D)
Democrats: Keene, Marks, Petris, Presley, Roberti, Torres, Watson
Republicans: Davis, Royce
Consultant: Greg Schmidt
Secretary: Vicki Sawyer
2032 State Capitol 445-5957
Meets: Tuesdays, 1:30P, Room 4203

Local Government
Chair: Bergeson (R)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Ayala, Calderon, Green, Thompson
Republicans: Craven, Hill, Russell
Consultant: Peter Detwiler
Secretary: Sharon Jennings
2085 State Capitol 445-9748
Meets: Wednesdays, 9:30A, Room 112

Natural Resources and Wildlife
Chair: McCorquodale (D)
Democrats: Hart, Johnston, Marks, Mello
Republicans: Bergeson, Davis, Rogers
Consultants: Peter Szego, Mary Shallenberger
Secretary: Shirley Smaage
2031 State Capitol 445-5441
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tuesdays, 9:30A, Room 4203

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Public Employment and Retirement
Chair: C. Green (D)
Democrats: Johnston, McCorquodale
Republican: Royce
Consultant: David Felderstein
Secretary: Nancy Shipley
2203 State Capitol 445-8958
Meets: 1st & 3rd Monday, 1:30P, Room 2040

Revenue & Taxation
Chair: Deddeh (D)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Ayala, Boatwright, Dills, B. Greene, Lockyer
Republican: Morgan
Consultants: Martin Helmke, Anne Maitland
Secretary: Carol Thomas
4072 State Capitol 445-3808
Meets: 1st & 3rd Wednesday, 1:30P, Room 3191

Rules
Chair: Robert i (D)
Democrats: Mello, Petris
Republicans: Beverly, Craven
Consultant: Cliff Berg
Secretary: Pat Webb
400 State Capitol 445-4311
Meets: Wednesdays 1:30P, Room 112

Toxics & Public Safety Management
Chair: Torres (D)
Independent: Kopp
Democrats: Lockyer, Rosenthal, Killea
Republican: Leonard
Consultant: Bob Fredenburg & Manual Hernandez
Secretary: Jolyne Budmark
2080 State Capitol 324-0894
Meets: 2nd & 4th Monday, 1:30P, Room 112

Transportation
Chair: Kopp ( )
Democrats: Deddeh, Killea, McCorquodale, Robbins. Vuich
Republicans: Bergeson, Morgan, Russell
Consultant: Mehdi Morshed & Steven Schmidt
Secretary: Jane McCarthy
2195 State Capitol 445-3182
Meets: 1st & 3rd Tuesday, 1:30P, Room 112

Veterans Affairs
Chair: Calderon (D)
Democrats: Ayala, Deddeh, Dills
Republicans: Beverly, Rogers
Consultant: Kelly Jensen
Secretary: Harlene Steindrager
2083 State Capitol 327-2745
Meets: 2nd & 4th Tues., 1:30P, Room 2040

Corrections to the 1991 Roster

Constitutional Officers:
- **Associate Justice Allen Broussard** of the State Supreme Court has announced that he will retire from the Court before the end of 1991.
- **Loren Kaye,** Governor Wilson's cabinet secretary, should be listed under "Staff," rather than "Cabinet."
- **Katie Wheeler** is an assistant to the governor and should be listed under "Staff." Her phone number is 445-2841.
- **Bill Livingstone** is the governor's press secretary.

Congress:
- **Tony Beilenson's** district office address is 11000 Wilshire Blvd., Suite 12230, Los Angeles, CA, 90024. His legislative assistant is Diane Brown.
- **Barbara Boxer's** district office phone is (415) 626-6943.
- **Julian Dixon's** district office address is 5100 W. Goldleaf Circle, #208, Los Angeles, CA, 90056.
- **Vic Fazio's** district phone is (916) 978-4381.
- **Mel Levine's** district office address is 5250 W. Century Blvd., #447, Los Angeles, CA, 90045.
- **Randy "Duke" Cunningham's** correct photo is:

Assembly:
- **Barbara Lee's** district office manager is Regina Carrie.
- **Byron Sher's** chief of staff is Kip Lipper.

Assembly Committees:
- **Consumer Protection, Governmental Efficiency and Economic Development** has replaced the Governmental Efficiency, Consumer Protection and New Technologies Committee. Assemblywoman Jackie Speier is chairwoman.
- **Water, Parks and Wildlife** phone number is 445-6164.
- **Ways and Means** phone number is 445-7082.

Special elections

Three special elections will be held March 19th to fill vacancies in the state Legislature: 1st Senate District to replace John Doolittle, who was elected to Congress in November 1990; 35th Senate District to replace John Seymour, who was appointed to the U.S. Senate in January 1991; and 26th Assembly District to replace Patrick Johnston, who was elected to the state Senate in November 1990. If no candidate emerges from the March 19th election with more than 50 percent of the vote, a run-off election will be held May 14th.

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California's mental-health system

IT'S NUTS

By Jeanie Esajian

Upon taking the gubernatorial reins of California, Pete Wilson becomes the fourth governor to preside over a community mental health system that has been variously described as in "woeful neglect," below a "sustenance level" and "moving backwards."

"I personally believe it [community mental health] is the worst thing we do in this state," said Assemblyman Bruce Bronzan, a Fresno Democrat who is chairman of the Assembly Health Committee and a proponent of increased funding for the state's community mental-health system.

Indeed, the Public Citizen Health Research Group and the National Alliance for the Mentally Ill seemed to support Bronzan's sentiments in their September 1990 survey of state programs serving the seriously mentally ill. California ranked 31st out of the 50 states overall, receiving only seven out of 25 total points. In rating the direction in which state programs were going, the survey ranked California in the seventh and lowest category of "moving backwards," along with Florida, Indiana and Pennsylvania.

The last and perhaps harshest rating of the state's mental-health system was the survey's mental-health spending and "generosity index," which showed that while California had the eighth highest per-capita income rank in the nation, it ranked 23rd in per capita mental-health spending, thus earning it a

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Jeanie Esajian is a freelance writer from Sacramento.

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tenth lowest in the nation.

However, with a new governor sitting in the corner office and some new mental-health funding proposals on the table, the future of the state's community mental-health system may be on the verge of change.

Wilson has proposed that fiscal and administrative responsibility for local mental-health programs be transferred to California's 58 counties, along with $460 million to fund the programs with the money raised through an increase in vehicle license fees and the alcohol beverage tax. A few mental-health programs will continue to be the responsibility of the state Department of Mental Health.

While the new governor's proposal may not sound astounding to the casual observer, it is for mental-health insiders. First, it proposes that community mental health receive the same amount of funding in fiscal 1991-92 as it did in 1990-91, a rarity for the mental-health system in any year and especially in a year which promises to be a fiscal nightmare for California government. Secondly, Wilson's proposal provides for a permanent funding base with growth potential for the state's community mental-health programs, a departure from the philosophies of some of his predecessors who used community mental health as a political football at budget time.

"In general, the notion of giving the counties a more stable source, an independent source of funding for public health and mental health is a very good thing if we can do it correctly," said Bronzan. "It will be more stable than state [general fund revenue] and a long-needed structural support for these areas that are often times very vulnerable."

Now, the state Department of Mental Health, which had previously enforced former Governor George Deukmejian's no-slack policies, is crowing about Governor Wilson's proposed funding mechanism.

"For the first time they [counties] will be given a revenue source with solid growth potential to fund these programs," said Kathryn Perry, department spokeswoman. Perry said the vehicle license fund is projected to grow at 10 to 11 percent annually.

With the new governor showing more leadership in mental health than any governor in decades, and with what Bronzan calls bipartisan support for mental health in the state Legislature, the next four years may be a turning point for a system that suffered more than two decades of neglect.

California basked in the sunlight of leadership in the decade beginning in 1957, when the Short-Doyle Act was enacted, delegating responsibility for mental-illness programs to the counties, offering mentally ill persons the opportunity to become part of community life, and providing for a balanced system that included components of prevention and early intervention. These glory days were relatively short-lived as former Governor Ronald Reagan began the dismantling of the state's mental-hospital system in 1967, under the guise of providing further freedoms for the state's mentally ill population. While the most severely developmentally disabled and mentally ill persons continued living in state hospitals, approximately 32,000 others were sent back — at least theoretically — to their hometowns to live.

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

Stories behind the mental-health statistics

Behind the statistics of California's growing mental-health crisis are the mentally ill themselves who, in many cases, are just one prescription or one crisis away from tumbling into a whirlpool of despair.

"They found me living in a field under a rock in a sleeping bag," recalled Mike Lisk, 41, a member of the Consumer Self-Help Center on Sacramento's Stockton Boulevard — a mecca for the capital's down-and-out. A schizophrenic, Mike takes medication daily to prevent episodes of uncontrollable weeping and anger that have been part of his life for 17 years. During lengthy tenures in the state's mental-health system, Lisk and other clients of community mental-health services funded by the state have seen deterioration in the quality and quantity of the programs they use.

"Every other program in town has a three-to-six-month waiting list," said Lisk, who credits the non-profit consumer Self-Help Center for turning his life around in 14 months. No longer receiving state aid, employed full time by the center as a self-help specialist and off a $200-a-day crank habit, Lisk said if he were to end up sleeping in a field today, it would now take him six months to get in to see a doctor who would accept Medi-Cal patients and a six-hour wait at a county clinic for a prescription. "I've gone back to the boulevard, and people on the boulevard are a lot worse off than when I was out there," he said.

Ironically, the Consumer Self-Help Center's intern program, which provided Lisk with his job, was created out of the mental-health funding crisis. Financed by the state, the program trains clients as peer counselors so they can work with others who are mentally ill so they can become active in their community and more self-sufficient.

Rebecca, a Consumer Self-Help Center client and newly elected president of the center's member council, has been in

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Inadequate funding followed these people home, resulting in inadequate community-based services.

At that time, counties were told to gear up and develop community-based programs to care for these newly released persons. Those who geared up early, like San Francisco, started building their state funding bases early. Those who geared up later, like San Diego County, ended up with thinner bases.

The worsening state of California's community mental-health system continued through the administrations of Jerry Brown and George Deukmejian, neither of whom made community mental health a high priority on their political agendas.

The latest assault on community mental health was a $61 million, or 12 percent, cut by Deukmejian in the $520.5 million 1990-91 community mental-health budget enacted by the Legislature. Bronzan's office had estimated that 43,000 of the state's one million mentally ill persons would lose services because of these cuts, which sent shock waves through the ranks of community mental-health directors.

"Some people are going to wind up in jail, some will be homeless and there will be terrible tragedies occurring every day because of this woeful neglect," said Ronald Usher, director of mental-health services for Sacramento County and a member of the budget task force of the Conference of Mental Health Directors.

"I've been ... frantically trying to deal with this," said Reiko True, director of San Francisco's division of mental health, who described a best-case scenario as the loss of community mental-health services to 2000 people through closures of three programs, reduction of one of two 24-hour crisis programs and service reductions at eight outpatient clinics.

"Within the last three years we have lost our ability to treat 20,000 to 25,000 people," said Robert Quiroz, mental-health director for Los Angeles County, where 3600 of 24000 county jail inmates are considered to be seriously mentally ill, making the Los Angeles County jail the largest *de facto* mental institution in the nation.

C. Catherine Camp, executive director of the California Mental Health Directors Association, said those initial budget cuts represented up to 50 percent of county mental-health budgets.

"Sixty million dollars worth of cuts are going to be made in a system that has had $160 million worth of capacity taken out of it in the last five years," she said.

Indeed, the Conference of Mental Health Directors had calculated at the beginning of the 1990 budget process that instead of axing $61 million from the 1990-91 state mental-health budget, the governor should have added about $500 million to bring the system to the level of funding it had in the early 1970s, said Usher.

A later restoration of funds through SB 1409, authored by Riverside's Democratic Senator Robert Presley, returned $10.7 million and reduced the total mental-health cuts to $51 million, while providing assistance to five of the hardest-hit counties — San Francisco, San Mateo, Marin, Napa and Solano — to ensure that no county had to take

---

the mental-health system for 19 of her 30 years.

"The major thing I've noticed is that the quality of care has changed," she said. "It is not as good, not as effective as it used to be." For example, often when Rebecca goes to a clinic for counseling, she leaves without ever seeing a counselor.

Even if Rebecca is able to see a counselor, the quality of that counseling is questionable, said Frank Smith, center director, who until last month was part of the state's homeless population.

"There is a three-to-four-hour wait to see a counselor and then once you get in, your session may last only 10 to 15 minutes instead of the traditional 45 to 50 minutes," he said. "Its common to be diagnosed and have drugs prescribed on a first time [psychiatrist] visit of only five minutes."

Neal Robinson, executive director of the Self-Help Center, said the funding cuts have made it virtually impossible for the area to support a much-needed resource — a residential crisis house. Currently, there is nothing to bridge the gap between day treatment programs and the county's locked mental-health ward.

"When someone is in crisis they don't necessarily need to be locked up," said Robinson, a former computer programmer who entered the mental-health system as a client. "They may have a shorter stay in a residential setting and can continue to work on life skills and address issues in a less-restrictive environment with less stigma."

Across the Sacramento River, Bruce, 47, a client in Yolo County's Stepping Stones intensive day treatment program, said the state mental-health funding cuts have turned this program and others into revolving doors. "Our staff gets changed all the time," he complained. One staff member recently left for a better-paying job as a corrections officer, Bruce said.

Karen, 30, another Stepping Stones client, said the county's socialization center program, where clients can go to forge friendships and participate in group activities, has suffered under budget cuts.

"The three centers usually had two staff members each, but are now down to one each, and the Davis center may close its doors," she said.

Bill, 31, another client at the day treatment program, said he has had three psychiatrists in five months. "They can't keep psychiatrists because they can't pay them," he said. "You don't feel like talking to them. They always change your medications."

While Stepping Stones has suffered from the state mental-health cuts, it was rescued from closure when Yolo County supervisors agreed to overmatch state funds, said Steven Mayberg, deputy director of the county's Health Services Agency and Mental Health Services.

Not so lucky were a cooperative living program, a halfway house, a sheltered workshop, juvenile sexual offender program and a grubstake program for the homeless. They were all cut after Yolo County took a 12.3 percent or a $350,000 budget cut in local mental-health programs, said Mayberg.

"We're only providing services to the people who are at risk for hospitalization or whose conditions are deteriorating and they need more intensive care," said Mayberg. For these persons in crisis, they get eight to 12 clinic visits in Yolo County, said Mayberg, "no matter what it is."

If Stepping Stones had been forced to close, 25-year-old Heidi said she wouldn't have known what to do. "I probably would try to do as best I could with my job and the house I live in, but there are a lot of things in my head that wouldn't get discussed."

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Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

greater than a 25 percent budget cut. Counties with mental-health budgets under $1 million were exempted from cuts, said Camp.

Now, working with budget cuts that range from zero to 25 percent, California's counties have become, in Bronzan's words, "rats fighting over the crumbs when what they really need is several loaves of bread just to get on a sustenance level."

Many of these community mental-health programs have survived on extra or "overmatch" funds allocated by county boards of supervisors, funding over and above the 10 percent they are required to put up as a match to state funds they receive.

"Counties restored approximately $40 million of those [state funding] cuts," said Camp, citing results of a recent County Supervisors Association of California survey. With all but 11 counties responding to the CSAC survey, Camp said 18 of the state's biggest counties restored funding cut by the state, while 29 counties did not receive cuts.

"Most counties with a cut restored the funds," said Camp, although in almost every case programs were cut in order to provide cost-of-living increases which were eliminated in the state budget.

The fact that some counties received state funding cuts and some didn't, or some received very large cuts while others didn't, highlights another issue in the mental-health system that simmers beneath the surface and relates directly to cuts made in the 1990-91 budget by the Deukmejian administration.

Simply put, not all counties are funded equally. While a county which has been in the community mental-health services business a long time has a bigger funding base, the reverse is also true: Counties relatively new to the mental-health business have a slimmer funding base, providing a living example of the adage "first come, first served."

Proposition 13 made it more difficult for the have-not counties to raise funds to meet their community mental-health needs as state funds began to dry up. The result was a measure authored by then-state Senator John Seymour, a Republican from Anaheim, which has become known as the"equity clause." Seymour's 1985 amendment to the state Welfare and Institutions Code said that if additional funding for local mental-health programs (beyond the current base and cost-of-living increases) became available, it must be allocated by need as defined and revised annually by the state Department of Mental Health. Part of this process uses what has been called the "poverty-population formula," comprised of the percentage of total state population and the total state poverty population residing in each county.

The intent of this clause was to try to provide counties with lower community mental-health funding bases a way to catch up to the other counties. It also proved to be part of the rationale behind Deukmejian administration cuts in community mental-health funding.

For example, before the initial budget cuts, the statewide mental-health funding range was from $62.59 per capita in Marin County to $16.60 per capita in Tulare County — a difference of $45.99. In fact, Deukmejian's mental-health budget cuts were heaviest to counties which had the highest per-capita funding, while cuts were lowest or non-existent to counties with the lowest per-capita funding. Marin County was among the five counties which initially stood to lose up to 50 percent of its 1990-91 state funding, while Tulare County received no cuts at all.

While enactment of the equity clause seemed to validate the need to equalize mental-health funding among California's counties, it apparently did not go far enough to appease one county. One year after the equity clause took effect, San Diego County filed suit in Superior Court, alleging that it had not gotten its fair share of community mental-health funds over the years.

"We figured out that if we would have gotten our fair share, it would have meant another $200 million for this county over the last 15 to 20 years," said Pat Stalnaker, a spokesman for Areta Crowell, San Diego County mental-health director.

So far, it looks as if San Diego County might be right.

After the statutory phase of the trial, San Diego County Superior Court Judge Barbara Gamer ruled that the state has illegally short-changed San Diego County for the past five years, even with the equity clause on the books. The second phase of the already lengthy trial, which has divided California's counties along lines of the mental-health haves and the have-nots, will focus on constitutional issues the state would rather not delve into.

"The defendants have not done real well before Judge Gamer so far," said the department's chief counsel, Carl Elder. "She is of the opinion that the state has not applied [the equity clause] in a correct manner, that we haven't adopted regulations. We've lost on virtually every issue that has been presented."

What the state would rather not deal with is an issue that would overflow the boiling caldron of California's fiscal troubles, a constitutional issue so basic to fundamental rights and so costly to implement that it would create a nightmare: equal protection.

Stalnaker put it simply: "Are taxpayers in this county being constitutionally and fairly treated under the equal protection clause of the constitution? Is the fact that San Francisco gets $62 per capita and San Diego County gets $19 per capita, is that constitutional? We say, 'No.'"

The question that both Stalnaker and Elder are not prepared to answer is where this equalizing money will come from. Stalnaker insisted that San Diego County does not want to take money away from other counties that need it. Elder wondered how to "reshuffle the deck to try to make new money available." Even the equity clause is careful to deal only with the issue of "additional" funding.

Meanwhile, observers on both sides are watching this lawsuit carefully, especially when and if it advances to a higher court where a ruling could result in constitutional entitlement to a certain level of service for the mentally ill in California, similar to that already provided to persons who are developmentally disabled.

"We think the outcome is going to shake the rafters," said Stalnaker.

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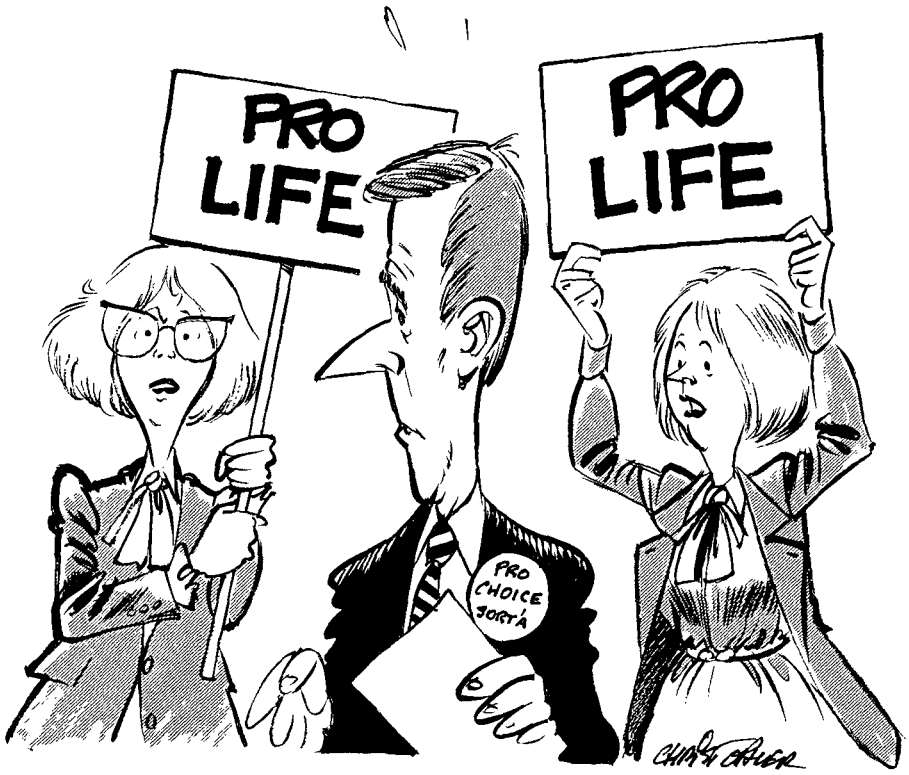
Pro-lifers encroach on Pete Wilson's backyard

By Tim W. Ferguson



San Diego County gave Pete Wilson more than half of his statewide victory margin in the November gubernatorial election, but did not favor its son otherwise. Anti-abortion activists scored several hits in local and sometimes obscure races, following on their takeover of the Republican county central committee in June. The governor, who favors abortion rights and other social policies scorned by this aroused camp, thus appears to have a problem in his backyard.

"We think Wilson is just going to devastate the state," says Constance Youngkin, a "right to life" champion around whom much of San Diego's recent political activity has swirled. The 42-year-old nurse, who in January completed her third jail sentence for illegal sit-ins at abortion clinics, barely missed upsetting Assemblywoman Tricia Hunter in the GOP primary last June. In November, she played a leading role in assembling a "slate" of school board, city council and legislative candidates.

The critical tactic of that effort, as in the primary with the party posts and Youngkin's Junior showing (badly underfunded, she ran ahead of Hunter in San Diego County), was the leafletting of selected churchgoers shortly before the election. They received lists of hopefuls who had at least stated their opposition to abortion. "Pro-choice" activists were caught off guard in San Diego by what they branded a "stealth" campaign, conducted outside the usual forums.

(Similar anti-abortion or "pro family" efforts had mixed success elsewhere in the state. They played a part in defeating Assemblyman Norm Waters, a Democrat from near Sacramento, and may have managed to tip the balance on several other county central committees, but they were repulsed on the San Francisco Peninsula by a counteroffensive funded by former senatorial candidate Ed Zschau, Congressman Tom Campbell of Palo Alto and state Senator Becky Morgan of Los Altos Hills.)

Why did San Diego become a focal point for political guerrilla warfare over abortion? Wilson, though now the lightning rod for criticism by abortion foes, wasn't the spark. Things heated up while he was still a U.S. senator in Washington. In summer 1989, around the time of the Supreme Court's *Web-*

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ster ruling that refocused the abortion fight on politics, Tricia Hunter won a special Assembly election as a "choice" candidate. A few months later, in another special election with wide media attention, Democrat Lucy Killea gained a state Senate seat in a Republican district after abortion split the Republican ranks. (The local bishop met with controversy when he barred Killea from taking communion.) By then, recriminations were in the air. They played themselves out in another race this past November, in Killea's old Assembly district where Jeff Marston, a Republican ally of Hunter who had captured the seat in a close special election only six months before, lost the November election to Democrat Mike Gotch, possibly because of GOP defections after pro-lifers targeted him. (In yet another area race with social-issue overtones, Republican Duke Cunningham unseated San Diego's Democratic congressman, Jim Bates.)

Clearly, a county not previously known as a morality battleground has become one. A newcomer influx may have something to do with it: The county's population grew by more than one-third in the 1960s to become the biggest in the state. Overnight, suburbs have become an important base of support for evangelical churches, which, along with traditional Catholic parishes, have provided the backing for a so-called "values coalition."

Abortion is at the center of this group's efforts, with a few score like Youngkin taking part in "Operation Rescue" protests at clinics and a larger number serving as foot soldiers in "Life Chains," or hand-holding displays along busy streets. One of the former is Deidre Holliday, who won a school board seat in the 49,000-student Vista Union district in the north county. One of the latter is Tony Snesko, elected to the city council in inland Poway.

Holliday, who says that, unlike her comrade Constance Youngkin, she's never been arrested at the Rescues, wants to bring "pro-family values" to the district's sex-education curriculum. "I'm trying to build bridges" to other board members, she says. Both she and Snesko deny that their campaigns relied on sneakiness, saying their views were widely publicized prior to the election.

Snesko, like Youngkin, does want to include more background, such as qualifications, on future anti-abortion slate material. "There just has to be a little more meat to the candidate" than merely a "yes" or "no" response to a survey, he says, adding that he's found that "pro-lifers are generally more compassionate" while "pro-choice people come off as hard, in a lot of ways."

Asking candidates in local races whether they would reverse *Roe vs. Wade*, the Supreme Court's invalidation of abortion laws, is appropriate, argues Youngkin. "The reason why voters wanted to know that is that it's a moral issue. Whether the candidate [if elected] ever makes a decision on that issue directly doesn't matter. What matters is the integrity of someone [who might make other important decisions]. It's kind of the bulwark test of a candidate's viability."

Operation Rescue activities have been quelled in San Diego and several other areas by intense prosecutions and stiff sentences, and in their wake energy has been refocused on politics, according to Youngkin and others. By winning minor offices, right-to-lifers assume staging grounds for higher-profile, legislative campaigns later.

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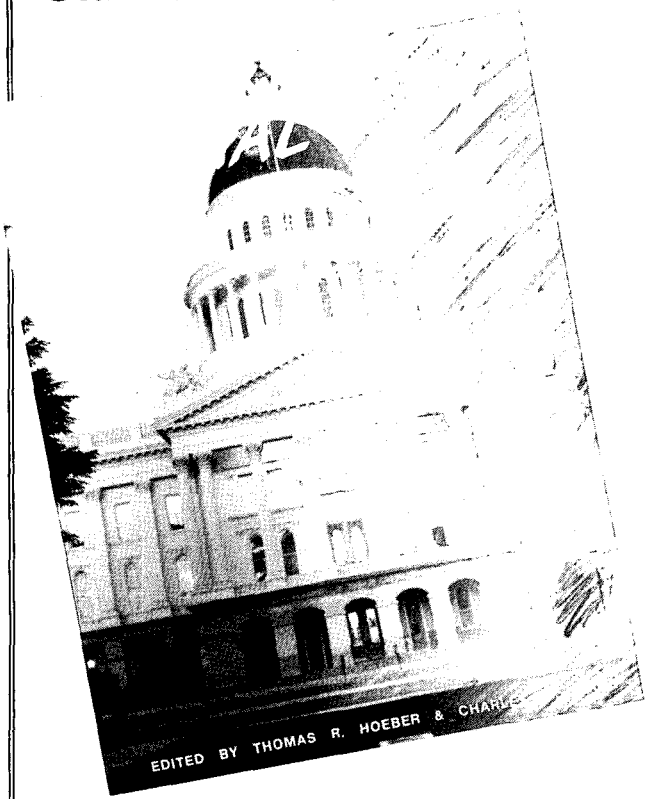

Now in its 21st edition, *California Journal*'s **California Government and Politics Annual** has become a standard resource book for college and university courses in state and local government. It is also a valuable tool for individuals seeking an overview of the California system of government and current political issues.

The 1990-91 edition contains chapters on the various branches of government plus lobbying, parties and politics, the press, direct democracy, local government, and current issues. The 128-page, large-format book is edited by Thomas R. Hoeber of the *California Journal* and Charles M. Price, political science professor at Chico State University and author of several books on state and local government. The price: $7.95 plus tax.

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In all, according to GOP activist Marjorie Van Nuis of El Cajon, an opponent of Youngkin's forces, 55 of 87 candidates "endorsed by the religious right" for nonpartisan offices in San Diego County won. Some analysts of national elections, such as the one that propelled Ronald Reagan into the White House and Republicans into control of the U.S. Senate in 1980, concluded that many previously uninvolved citizens were brought to the polls by social and religious concerns. But if that's what happened in San Diego in 1990, the numbers don't confirm it — total votes cast in the relevant elections didn't jump from 1988.

Robert Ottilie, a San Diego lawyer who was displaced from a central-committee post in the wake of the anti-abortion sweep, says churchgoers in his town are different from those in the Bible Belt: "You're talking about a leadership group here, not somebody who sits at home and is motivated by a specific brochure." But the faction now controlling the local party is excluding those who disagree, he says, and the real GOP action in town is shifting to high-roller fund-raising groups.

Some of the partisans left out in the cold by the 1990 anti-abortion victories in San Diego describe themselves as "Goldwater Republicans." The former Arizona senator favors abortion rights. But Constance Youngkin dispels the idea that the vanquished central-committee members are trueborn conservatives. She cites their support for the Proposition 111 gasoline-tax increase last June. Her mention of that and other economic issues, such as the privatization of public services, suggests that social issues aren't her only concern.

Nevertheless, the Wilson-Goldwater wing of the GOP sounded an alarm in January that "the religious right could take control of our state party in 1991." California Republicans for Choice, a fledgling unit of the anti-conservative California Republican League, sought to maneuver for seats to the state party convention that was held in late February in Sacramento. Abortion and other social issues, including homosexuality, were to be debated, and choice proponents said they feared a "coup" to harden the party's platform and affront the new governor.

Indeed, Albin Rhomberg, an official of the California Pro-Life Medical Association who frequents the office of conservative Assemblyman Richard Mountjoy, was promising a "cat fight over the platform." He decries what he finds to be Wilson's courting of Planned Parenthood through his reversal of former Governor George Deukmejian's opposition to funding "family planning" clinics. His views mirror Youngkin's accusation that Wilson was making "moves that are so non-conservative, it's absurd." Says Bud Lembke, a veteran state political analyst, "Wilson, by his appointments, doesn't seem to be kowtowing to the right wing, and that's bound to increase their anger."

Wilson's command itself, through spokesman Otto Bos, was expressing no great anxiety three weeks before the convention. "We're aware of them," he said of the governor's GOP critics on abortion, but they weren't going to sway Wilson. "You can't expect that, because for that to happen, an officeholder would have to change a position he's had for 24 years. That would show a real lack of principle."

However well the insurgents did, "we just have to say respectfully we disagree. We don't think we should become a single-issue party," Bos said. He emphasized that Wilson had survived brickbats before from groups like the California Republican Assembly and had kept the rank-and-file's loyalty. It wasn't significant to have so much activity occurring in San Diego, he said, mentioning skirmishes elsewhere.

But down south the bells were going off. "Concerned voters in San Diego are aware that this highly organized political movement has plans to seize the remaining seats on their representative boards in the 1992 election," Marjorie Van Nuis wrote in an open letter. "If they are again victorious, these fundamentalist organizations will constitute the majority of local government officials in San Diego." She is forming a Mainstream Voters Project to expose the "hidden agendas" of local candidates.

Youngkin acknowledges the choice side is "scurrying" and "working very hard now," but promises to escalate the battle further. She personally eyes another shot at Tricia Hunter or in some realigned district nearby in 1992.

And she sees the fight spreading, to Pete Wilson's detriment. "We are an example of what can be done," she boasts. "Now many other people throughout our state are taking our lead. It's really simple — just getting the word out. We were surprised that there were so many pro-family, pro-life people out here."

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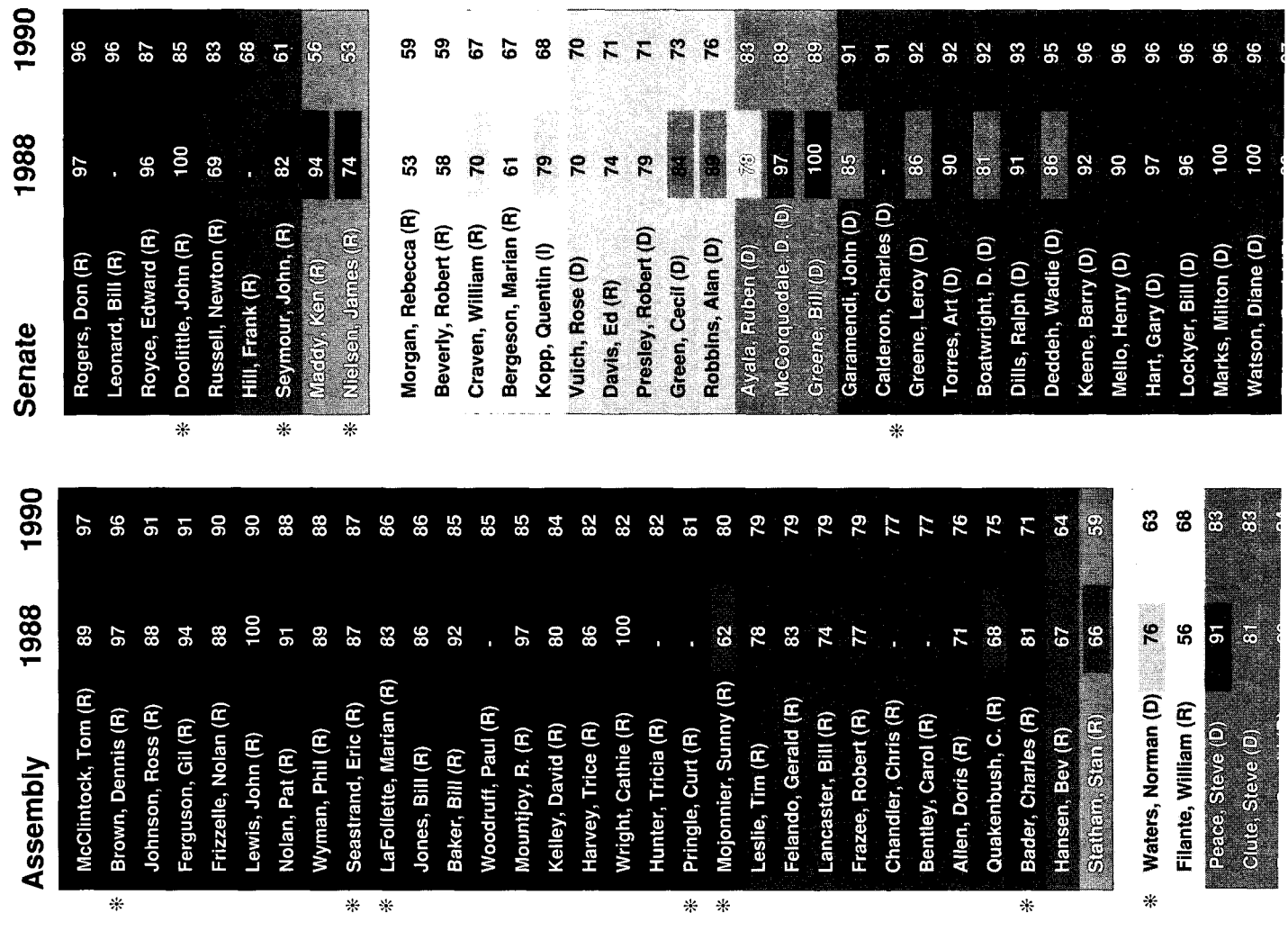
A *California Journal* survey

Who's left — who's right

LEGEND

The chart shows the percentage of either liberal or conservative votes cast by each legislator. The numbers for lawmakers at the top of the chart, in black, are percentages of conservative votes. The numbers for lawmakers at the bottom of the chart, in color, are percentages of liberal votes. A list of the votes used is on the following page.

* No longer a member of this house


Senate
1988
1990
Rogers, Don (R) 97 96
Leonard, Bill (R) - 96
Royce, Edward (R) 96 87
* Doolittle, John (R) 100 85
Russell, Newton (R) 69 83
Hill, Frank (R) - 68
* Seymour, John, (R) 82 61
Maddy, Ken (R) 94 56
* Nielsen, James (R) 74 53
Morgan, Rebecca (R) 53 59
Beverly, Robert (R) 58 59
Craven, William (R) 70 67
Bergeson, Marian (R) 61 67
Kopp, Quentin (I) 79 68
Vuich, Rose (D) 70 70
Davis, Ed (R) 74 71
Presley, Robert (D) 79 71
Green, Cecil (D) 84 73
Robbins, Alan (D) 89 76
Ayala, Ruben (D) 78 83
McCorquodale, D. (D) 97 89
Greene, Bill (D) 100 89
Garamendi, John (D) 85 91
Calderon, Charles (D) - 91
* Greene, Leroy (D) 86 92
Torres, Art (D) 90 92
Boatwright, D. (D) 81 92
Dills, Ralph (D) 91 93
Deddeh, Wadie (D) 86 95
Keene, Barry (D) 92 96
Mello, Henry (D) 90 96
Hart, Gary (D) 97 96
Lockyer, Bill (D) 96 96
Marks, Milton (D) 100 96
Watson, Diane (D) 100 96
Assembly
1988
1990
McClintock, Tom (R) 89 97
* Brown, Dennis (R) 97 96
Johnson, Ross (R) 88 91
Ferguson, Gil (R) 94 91
Frizzelle, Nolan (R) 88 90
Lewis, John (R) 100 90
Nolan, Pat (R) 91 88
Wyman, Phil (R) 89 88
* Seastrand, Eric (R) 87 87
* LaFollette, Marian (R) 83 86
Jones, Bill (R) 86 86
Baker, Bill (R) 92 85
Woodruff, Paul (R) - 85
Mountjoy, R. (R) 97 85
Kelley, David (R) 80 84
Harvey, Trice (R) 86 82
Wright, Cathie (R) 100 82
Hunter, Tricia (R) - 82
* Pringle, Curt (R) - 81
* Mojonnier, Sunny (R) 62 80
Leslie, Tim (R) 78 79
Felando, Gerald (R) 83 79
Lancaster, Bill (R) 74 79
Frazee, Robert (R) 77 79
Chandler, Chris (R) - 77
Bentley, Carol (R) - 77
Allen, Doris (R) 71 76
Quakenbush, C. (R) 68 75
* Bader, Charles (R) 81 71
Hansen, Bev (R) 67 64
Statham, Stan (R) 66 59
* Waters, Norman (D) 76 63
Filante, William (R) 56 68
Peace, Steve (D) 91 83
Clute, Steve (D) 81 83

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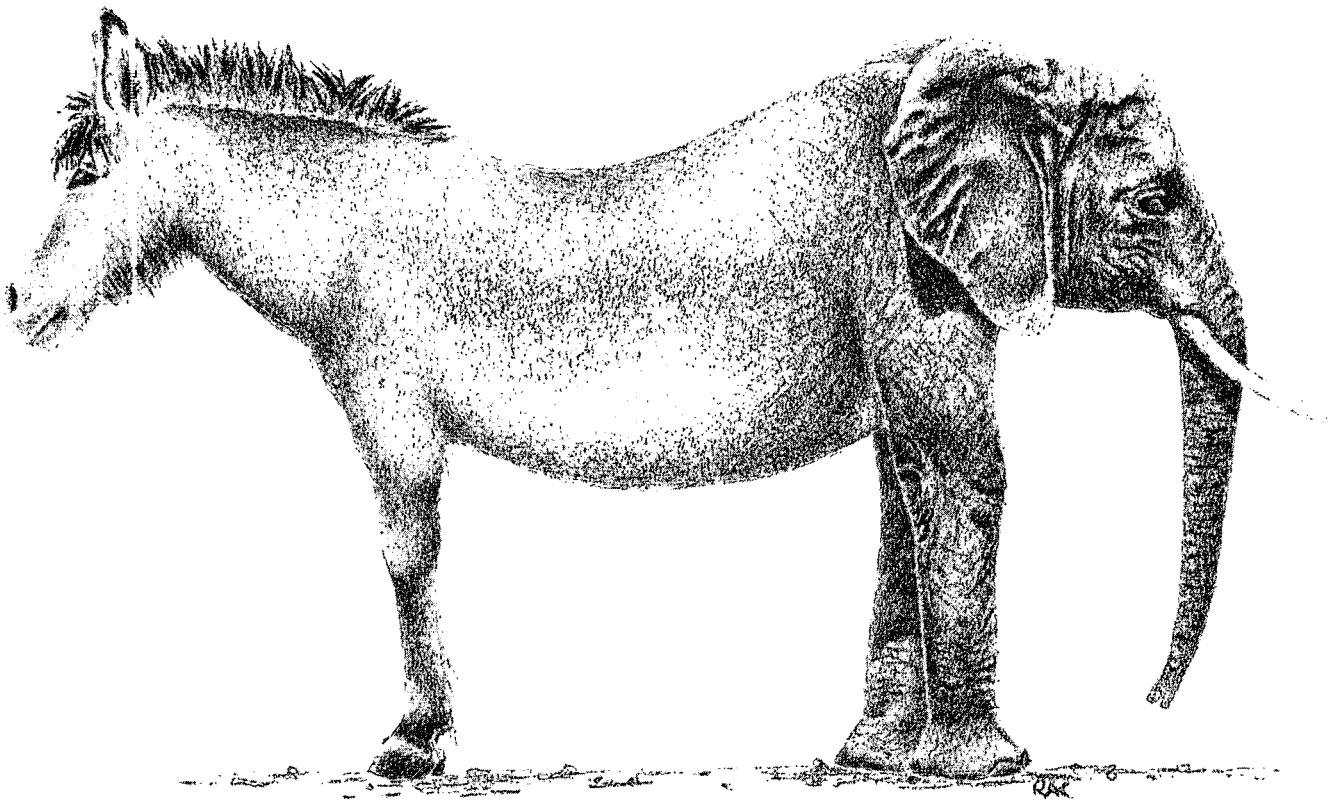


It will come as no surprise that the state Legislature remains sharply divided along ideological and partisan lines, according to the third *California Journal* survey of legislative voting records.

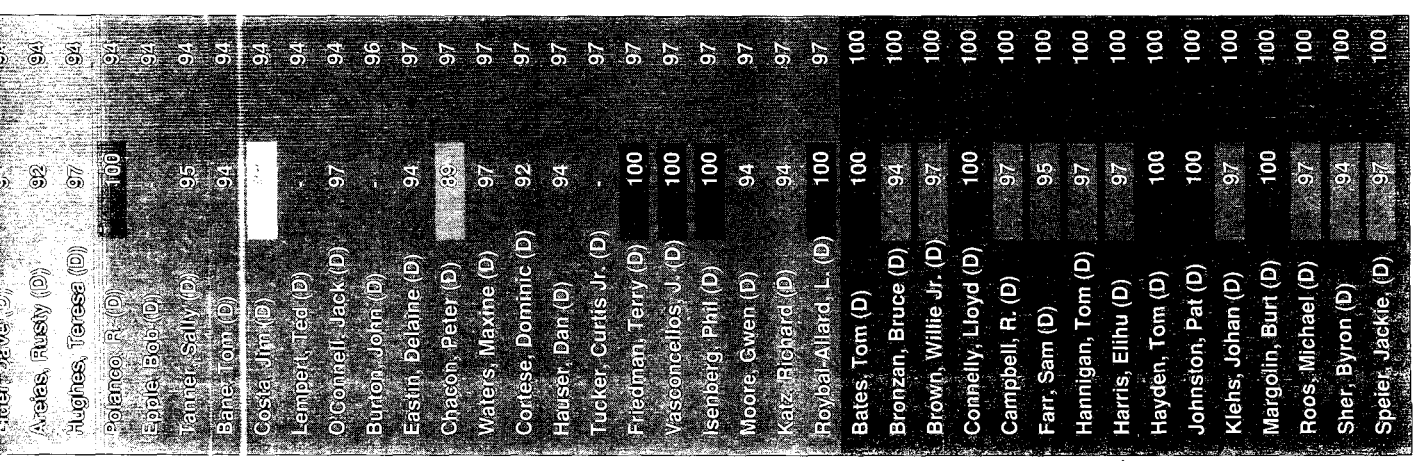
As in years past, in California it is clear: Democrats are almost exclusively liberal and Republicans nearly all conservative.

As in the past, the Assembly is the more sharply divided of the two houses, with only 13 of the Assembly members having voting records that fall in the "moderate" range. We have defined a moderate as anyone who votes less than 80 percent liberal or conservative. That's about the same number who fell in this range two years ago, when the survey was last conducted. At that time, 15 members could be classified as moderates.

In the Senate, however, there were some signs that the partisan split, always weaker than in the Assembly, was becoming event less pronounced. Fourteen of the senators in the current survey fell in the moderate range, up from a dozen two years ago. And in the current survey, only four senators had 100 percent liberal or conservative voting records, compared to a half-dozen in the 1988 survey.

Leaders in that house in the past have noted that both

The material for this survey was compiled by California Journal *intern Andrew Hackett.*


Rosenthal, Herschel (D) 100
Polanco, R. (D) 100
Eppel, Bob (D) 94
Tanner, Sally (D) 95
Bane, Tom (D) 94
Costa, Jim (D) 94
Lempert, Ted (D) 94
O'Connell, Jack (D) 94
Burton, John (D) 96
Eastin, Delaine (D) 97
Chacon, Peter (D) 97
Waters, Maxine (D) 97
Cortese, Dominic (D) 97
Hauser, Dan (D) 97
Tucker, Curtis Jr. (D) 97
Friedman, Terry (D) 97
Vasconcellos, J. (D) 97
Isenberg, Phil (D) 97
Moore, Gwen (D) 97
Katz, Richard (D) 97
Roybal-Allard, L. (D) 97
Bates, Tom (D) 100
Bronzan, Bruce (D) 100
Brown, Willie Jr. (D) 100
Connelly, Lloyd (D) 100
Campbell, R. (D) 100
Farr, Sam (D) 100
Hannigan, Tom (D) 100
Harris, Elihu (D) 100
Hayden, Tom (D) 100
Johnston, Pat (D) 100
Klehs, Johan (D) 100
Margolin, Burt (D) 100
Roos, Michael (D) 100
Sher, Byron (D) 100
Speier, Jackie (D) 100

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parties are working more closely than in previous years, a shift that was in evidence last summer when the Senate was able to agree on a compromise budget far in advance of the Assembly or the governor's office.

Still, partisanship is the rule in both houses. For example, in both houses, every Democrat had a more liberal score than every Republican — with one exception. In the Assembly, Republican William Filante from Marin County had a slightly more liberal voting record than former Assemblyman Norman Waters of Plymouth. Waters' moderate position was not enough to save him from defeat at the hands of a far more conservative Republican — new Assemblyman David Knowles. Both Filante and Waters occupied the same switched positions when the survey was taken in 1988 as well.

In the Senate, Republican Ed Davis of Chatsworth and Democrat Rose Vuich of Dinuba were the only pair of senators to swap places on the ideological spectrum. Independent Quentin Kopp of San Francisco fit neatly in the middle, with a 68 percent conservative voting record.

Overall, as in the past, the Senate had a more conservative voting record than the Assembly.

Legislators believe the *Journal* survey overemphasizes the ideological divisions in the Legislature. And in fact, the bills selected for the survey are chosen because they represent clear ideological divisions, and even bills that might be considered "moderate" in tone are classified into one of the two ideological camps.

Furthermore, only floor votes on the bills are used in the survey. Amending votes in committee that might make a bill more moderate are not considered. Legislators who consider themselves moderates, in particular, feel that the survey methodology unfairly discounts this consideration, and unjustly gives them labels they feel are too harsh.

Still, the results of the survey have been fairly consistent over the three times it has been taken. Members of the Legislature who would label themselves liberals generally end up with liberal scores in the 90-percent range, while those legislators who call themselves conservatives fall consistently in that part of the scale.

The bills for the survey are selected by the *Journal* editors after asking a wide variety of legislative staff members to suggest bills where ideological differences are clear. This large number of bills is then screened and the vote for or against is classified as either liberal or conservative. The numbers in the chart represent a simple percentage of votes cast. Failure to vote, either because of absence or deliberately deciding not to vote, is not counted in computing the percentage.

Survey bills for 1989-90

AB 11 (Hughes)
Subject: AIDS education
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 25 (Hughes)
Subject: AIDS education
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 65 (Vasconcellos)
Subject: AIDS discrimination
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 77 (Moore)
Subject: family care leave and discrimination
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 80 (Killea and Cortese)
Subject: Solid waste, recycling
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 357 (Roos)
Subject: Firearms
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 360 (Bronzan)
Subject: Health care service-mental health
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 390 (Sher)
Subject: Old growth timber stands
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 497 (Connelly)
Subject: Firearms
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 510 (Roos)
Subject: Higher education, employer-employee relations
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 795 (Moore)
Subject: Homeless persons
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 870 (Bates)
Subject: Child care facilities (public buildings)
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 939 (Sher)
Subject: Integrated Waste Management
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1223 (Moore)
Subject: In-Home supportive services
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1377 (Bates)
Subject: Recycling
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1494 (Friedman)
Subject: County welfare departments-procedural rules
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1680 (Areias)
Subject: Firearms-sale and transfer
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1718 (Hayden)
Subject: Greenhouse gas emissions
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 1719 (Hayden)
Subject: AIDS information to employees
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 2549 (Roybal-Allard)
Subject: Air pollution
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 2677 (M. Waters, Chacon, and Eastin)
Subject: State boards, (compostion of)
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3050 (Margolin)
Subject: Beverage containers
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3580 (Katz et al.)
Subject: Local taxes, graffiti
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3642 (Johnston et al.)
Subject: Auto insurance, assigned-risk plan
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 3779 (Campbell)
Subject: Hazardous materials
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AB 4006 (Cannella)
Subject: Occupational safety and health
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AJR 69 (Moore)
Subject: Federal Labor Laws
"Yes" vote: Liberal

AJR 97 (N. Waters et al.)
Subject: Flag Desecration
"Yes" vote: Conservative

ACR 84 (Elder)
Subject: STRS and PERS-international investments
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SR 42 (Hart et al.)
Subject: Property taxiation
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SJR 62 (Roberti)
Subject: Civil Rights
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 2 (Lockyer and Nielsen)
Subject: Murder-special circumstances
"Yes" vote: Conservative

SB 991 (Watson)
Subject: Aid to Families with Dependent Children
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 1770 (McCorquodale)
Subject: Air pollution
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 1781 (Watson and Petris)
Subject: Natural disaster relief, temporary shelter
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 1787 (Rosenthal and Davis)
Subject: Coastal resources, enforcement
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 2078 (Roberti)
Subject: Commission on Pay Equity
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 2154 (L. Greene)
Subject: Adolescent health programs
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 2217 (Petris)
Subject: Labor disputes, liability
"Yes" vote: Liberal

SB 2868 (Petris)
Subject: Health insurance
"Yes" vote: Liberal

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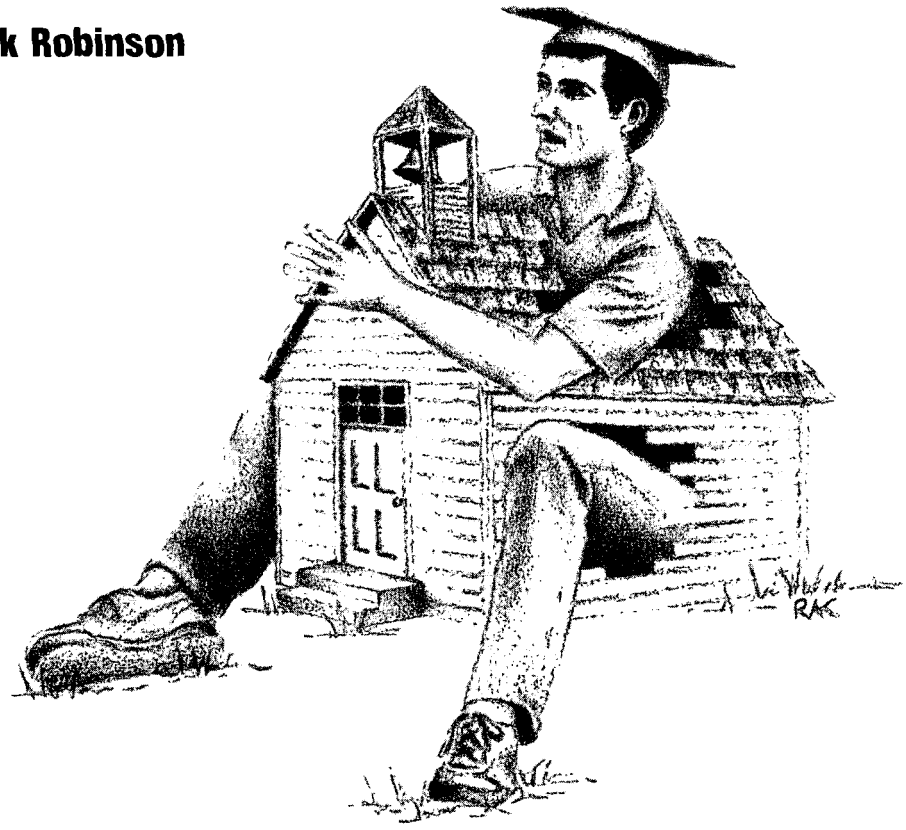
UC's good-neighbor policy Soothing friction between town and gown

By Steve Kettmann and Jack Robinson



If University of California President David Gardner, a notoriously controlled public speaker, were ever to get a little testy with the press, it surely would have been early in 1990 at a San Francisco meeting of the UC regents during which the selection of new Berkeley Chancellor Chang-Lin Tien was announced. Gardner, who took time to field questions from reporters, had wanted to talk about the smiling new administrator standing next to him. But he was asked more than once about Riverside — a subject that brings him little comfort.

Gardner fielded the questions smoothly, commenting evenly that he had decided to reconsider his earlier opposition to major expansion at UC Riverside. Give Gardner yet another "A" for diplomacy. The strange case of Riverside — the one host city in the nine-campus UC system that is ravenously hungry for more, more, more students and more professors and, of course, more money — does all sorts of inconvenient things to the ever-prudent Gardner's political calculations. He has energetically backed a plan to build three new UC campuses as a bold effort to bring the world-renowned university system into the 21st Century and, it is widely believed, as a way to enhance his legacy.

Apart from the dismal uncertainties of future state budgets — which could delay or cut back expansion — the effort has been moving ahead nicely. The regents voted in July to proceed with at least one new campus. And when it comes to expansion, UC finds itself in a seller's market. Civic leaders all around the state hanker after the status and economic benefits a UC campus will bring. This fall the eight areas in the San Joaquin Valley that were named as finalists for the 10th campus have been hosting tours of UC dignitaries. For now only these areas, in Stanislaus, Tuolumne, Merced, Madera, Fresno, and Tulare counties, can covet status as a UC host city. But if and when UC adds an 11th — and possibly a 12th — campus, lobbying by other cities such as Palm Springs and Redding may pay off.

The argument for shelling out big money for new campuses rests on the contention that the university cannot accommodate its burgeoning enrollment on the existing nine campuses. All but Riverside are near, at, or above capacity, and many campus neighbors are opposed to growth. As those campuses have set about finalizing long-range development plans to carry

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Steve Kettmann is an editor for the San Francisco Chronicle; *Jack Robinson is an education writer for the* Press Enterprise *of Riverside.*

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them through the year 2005, the political and physical limits of growth at each have become clear.

Berkeley serves as a good example of the frictions inherent in this process, and also of the relative harmony that can be achieved. Berkeley, after all, was the site of a pitched battle between community activists and the National Guard back in 1969 over the little rectangle of land, owned by the university, called People's Park.

But that was 21 years ago. This past July, the Berkeley City Council voted to approve a plan for expansion of the UC Berkeley campus. In a community where the university is often portrayed as a monstrosity, the campus' recently completed long-range development plan had met with ample opposition from activists. But in the end the council voted to support it. Over the next 15 years the university will pay out more than $23 million to the city. The agreement also cements a plan to have the city lease a sizable portion of People's Park from the university for 15 years at $1 a year so that the storied bit of land can be maintained as a park.

Each campus has fashioned a development plan and accompanying environmental impact report. All have been approved except that for UC San Francisco. The San Francisco campus, which houses only a medical school, is just starting its developmental process, with completion anticipated in 1992. Meanwhile, residents and officials in UC cities — worried about traffic, water and other urban problems associated with campus expansion — must wonder at the enthusiasm of others around the state clambering for a new campus.

Riverside is the exception, for it views continued growth of its campus with unalloyed delight. In a sense a competitor of the cities vying for a new campus — because faster, more dramatic growth at UC Riverside may delay or block construction of one or two new campuses — it is the only UC community where the supporters of expansion, not the opponents, have organized.

"To my knowledge there are none in the state as aggressively in support of the university as in Riverside," said state Senator Robert Presley, a Riverside Democrat.

"I have one of the most supportive communities of any executive officer anywhere in the country," said UC Riverside Chancellor Rosemary S.J. Schraer. "I believe that."

Everywhere else around the state, negotiations between campus and city have been delicate. At Davis the development plan was met with a lawsuit filed by two private citizens who charged that the environmental impact report accompanying the plan was inadequate. The eight causes of action were eventually dropped, according to UC Davis spokesman Jerry Halle, but the suit is still pending in court, with a new challenge of the university's efforts to ameliorate the contamination of an area around a former Department of Energy laboratory.

The key issue, though, is growth. And since the Davis campus is surrounded by prime agricultural land, the community needed to be assured that, despite the pressure for expansion, growth would be slowed. Davis' enrollment has been surging upward recently, climbing by 1000 students in each of the past three academic years. But this year, said Halle, overall enrollment was expected to grow to 22,900, an increase of 500 to 700 students. And the target figure for the year 2005 is a relatively modest 26,850.

Players on both sides of the Davis dispute seemed eager to credit each other with going the extra distance to smooth tensions. "We initiated a dialogue between the university and the city that both parties engaged in very seriously these last few years," said Halle.

Davis' new mayor, Jerry Adler, agreed. "There was a time when some leadership on the city council was in a tense situation with regard to some campus leadership and the growth projections of the campus," he said. "But I think those were transient."

Santa Cruz, as the first campus to go public with its development plan, found itself drawn into the spotlight. This was a campus, after all, that in the '60s gave itself an eventual enrollment target of 27,000. The current long-range plan, which was adopted last year, calls for an expansion in enrollment from 9000 in 1988-89 to 15,000 in 2005-6. Naturally, some community objection to the expansion was raised at public hearings on the topic, but in the end the university agreed to sever-

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al concessions that helped build support for its expansion.

"Fifteen thousand is a number that we feel won't stretch the programs on campus,' said campus spokesman Jim Burns. 'It's also an accommodation to the community. We recognize that the community can't accommodate growth that is at too accelerated a pace."

Santa Cruz did not commit itself to specific investments but did agree to a series of future talks. The university will negotiate to pay its "fair share" of the costs of upgrading two important intersections near campus, said Burns. It also will engage in talks on helping pay for sewage treatment capability and, if necessary, for new sources of water.

In always-contentious Berkeley the new cooperation was engendered only through person-to-person bridge-building. Mayor Loni Hancock, a much different style of leader than her predecessor — the outspokenly Socialist Gus Newport — got together with outgoing Chancellor Ira Michael Heyman. The two worked out a memorandum of accord late last year that laid the groundwork for the formal agreement eventually approved by the regents and, in July, by the city council.

"I think right now, town-gown relations are the best we've had them in many years," said Heyman before handing over power to Chang-Lin Tien in July. Having been chancellor for a decade, Heyman was in a position to know — and he was also in a position to leave improved community relations as part of his legacy, which was exactly what he hoped to do.

Berkeley is the only campus that is actually reducing its enrollment. From a peak of more than 32,000 a few years ago, Berkeley has already cut enrollment to 30,576 last year. By 2005 the campus plans to reduce the student population to 29,450.

Campus spokesman Ray Colvig was quick to credit community involvement with shaping the planning process. He pointed out that the university's original long-range development plan, which called for the construction of housing on People's Park, was withdrawn after its first community review revealed serious dissatisfaction.

"We opened it up and revised it last fall," he said. "The changes were very much in keeping with what the city and the community said they wanted." Besides the deal on People's Park, the university also agreed to reduce the size of its housing developments and to pay fees to the city for each bed it adds to student housing. That and the other fees adding up to the $23 million total.

"I think we went absolutely as far as we could go given the mood of the regents and the president and so forth," said Colvig. The Coalition of University Neighbors complained that the city could have held out for more substantial compensation, particularly in the costly and important area of transportation improvements in the congested south campus area, but spokesman Fred Collignon was pleased to have turned the tide on enrollment. "The neighborhoods pushed the city very hard to get some teeth in this agreement," he said.

The San Francisco campus, unique systemwide in that of its 3500 students, only about 100 are undergraduates, has already been through its toughest battles with community opponents of growth. The campus agreed in the 1970s not to expand beyond a limit of 3.5 million square feet. "That was definitely the result of a dialogue between campus and the community," said Bruce Spaulding, UCSF's current vice chancellor for university advancement and planning.

In the process now gearing up, therefore, growth is not a contentious issue, said Spaulding. Enrollment will increase by 400 to 500 students in the next 15 years, he said, and with the construction of a new library on the Parnassus campus, any future growth of the university's physical plant will be limited to minimal additions at small sites around San Francisco.

UC Santa Barbara plans to grow from a current enrollment of 18,500 to 20,000 by 2005. All of the growth is in the number of graduate students, reflecting the administration's desire to boost UCSB's research reputation, not just its size. Although the numbers are modest, that kind of growth will be expensive; luring top scholars requires attractive facilities, especially in the sciences. And in an environmentally conscious community, it can also be contentious.

"Land development in south coast Santa Barbara County is a litigious process," said campus planner Tye Simpson. Three or four well-funded environmental organizations have weighed in with concerns about the effects of campus growth on traffic, housing and water problems in Goleta (the unincorporated community that surrounds the campus), he said.

Unlike Berkeley, "where the opposition is really to the university itself ... we just happen to fall into the category of major developer," Simpson said. "It's a strong environmental movement. They know CEQA, they know the case law."

Simpson said the campus has found the CEQA — the California Environmental Quality Act, which mandates environmental impact reports for any significant development in the state — does little to help administrators forge a compromise with residents.

Instead, "What we're trying to do is work our agreements with governments directly ... and work out some accommodation," Simpson said. For example, the campus offered to pay for increased traffic that expansion will generate, or to reshuffle proposed housing projects to lessen the effects.

In September, the regents approved Santa Barbara's expansion plan over the vociferous objections of county and

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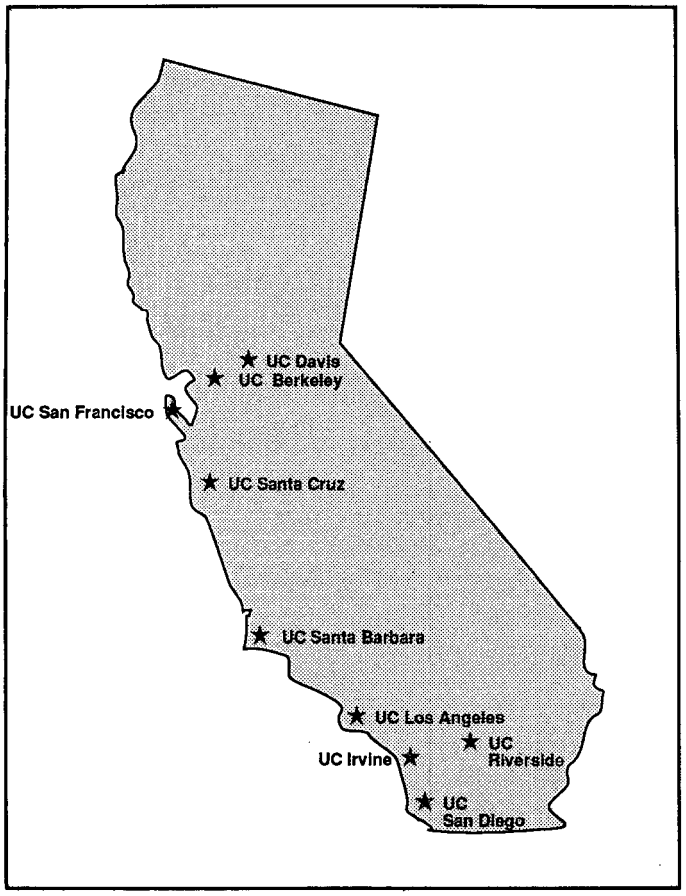

city officials. While Chancellor Barbara Uehling and other campus officials insisted that negotiations with the community had reached impasse, Mayor Sheila Lodge and others said the plan could and should be approved, and a lawsuit appeared imminent. Over the next several months, however, UC officials reached a unique agreement with citizens and local officials that appears to settle the drawn-out conflict. Under the pact, approved by the regents in January, the university will contribute $3.1 million to traffic improvements, cancel a faculty housing project planned for a treasured seaside bluff and help build low-cost housing for campus staff. The community leaders agreed not to sue.

UCLA is similarly cheek-by-jowl with the city, and its expansion plans likewise are viewed critically by neighbors in Westwood. Although the long-range plan foresees no increase in the student population of 35,000, officials expect to add 4000 faculty and staff by 2005 to meet long-range academic goals. Nearly four million square feet of new academic, residential and administrative facilities that would worsen congestion are at the heart of the conflict between campus and residents, said spokeswoman Jan Klunder.

Opponents won a key victory in May when UCLA Chancellor Charles Young agreed to scrap plans for a 300-room conference center that would have housed guests overnight — a facility that residents contended would have a neighborhood impact no smaller than that of a sizable hotel. A month later the campus agreed to cut another 450,000 square feet of development from the plan and offer a revised environmental impact report.

Whereas opposition is political in Berkeley and environmental in Santa Barbara, it is purely a matter of traffic in Westwood, Klunder said. "I get the feeling they wouldn't

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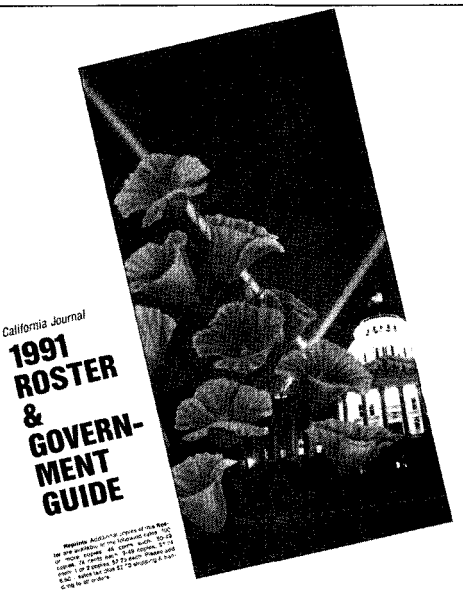

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care how much we build, so long as we didn't generate any new traffic," she said, explaining that the campus will meet community concerns by building housing for 2700 faculty members and graduate students on campus and by expanding the campus car-pool program.

"People find that a little hard to believe," Klunder admitted, "but we're confident."

The two other coastal campuses in Southern California are on better if not quite idyllic, terms with their communities. While little serious community opposition was stirred by their expansion plans, certainly no residents have organized to support it.

In San Diego there was not much controversy over a long-range plan approved by the university board of regents in November to increase enrollment from 17,600 to 26,000 by 2005, said campus spokeswoman Dolores Davies.

"There's a concern in the general area over traffic, but that's almost a universal concern," Davies said. Only five or six residents bothered to express formal criticism of the environmental-impact report (EIR), and the report's public hearing was, according to Davies, "mild ... We were prepared for a little bit more."

Irvine administrators had even less opposition to handle. "There was not a tremendous amount of community reaction to the plan," said campus spokeswoman Linda Grannell. The expansion plan only takes the campus to 26,000, still shy of the 27,500 figure that had originally been planned for this year, so the campus had little to negotiate besides the widening of a road through a campus housing development and traffic effects on the cities of Irvine and Newport Beach, Grannell said.

"We were the envy of our colleagues," Grannell said.

But if officials at other campuses envy Irvine's pacific relations with its community, they would kill to be in Riverside. Not only has no opposition to campus expansion surfaced, residents actually mobilized to lobby, successfully, for *more* growth than the university first planned. Imagine that happening in Berkeley.

When UC President David Gardner announced enrollment targets for each campus to contemplate for 2005, leaders of the Riverside business community joined faculty members and administration to express deep disappointment with Gardner's instruction that the campus grow from its current 8220 enrollment to only 15,000 by 2005.

Gardner, who was an administrator at UC Santa Barbara in the late 60s when that campus was undergoing its first wave of rapid expansion, had argued that no campus could grow faster than that without sacrificing academic standards; in essence, the campus might have to hire second-rate faculty members to keep up with enrollment. Campus faculty disagreed.

The Riverside Citizens University Committee — a powerful group of civic leaders that successfully lobbied for creation of the campus after World War II — and the Monday Morning Group — a conclave of business executives — met with Gardner and legislators to urge a higher enrollment target.

Why? Like Irvine, the campus at Riverside has plenty of its own land and is unlikely to add dramatically to congestion in its neighborhood, which has already burgeoned in recent years. And community leaders hunger for the prestige and economic stimulation a larger UCR can bring.

Riverside, once a sleepy center for citrus farming, has blossomed with the tide of commuters seeking cheap homes and the businesses that serve them. By any demographic or economic measure, the region around UC Riverside is regularly listed among the nation's fastest growing. But the city has little visibility statewide. Likewise, the campus, born at the turn of the century as an agricultural research station and still both the smallest and the least regarded in the system, is tired of stepchild status. UC Riverside is determined to make it in the big time and the city is determined to help its most prestigious asset.

"These people are just dedicated to that university," said Senator Presley. "It's sort of a jewel. People are very proud of it, pleased to see it expand."

Presley, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, added muscle to the community's lobbying effort with 1989-90 budget language virtually requiring the university to take another look at the idea of a mega-UCR.

Others in state government, concerned by the estimated $1 billion expense of building the three new campuses that Gardner wants, have joined UCR's cause, arguing that the system could get along with just one new campus in the Central Valley if UCR expands to its maximum size as soon as possible.

Both Legislative Analyst Elizabeth Hill and the staff of the California Postsecondary Education Commission have recommended expanding UCR to 25,000, rather than 15,000, to reduce the need for new campuses.

Early this year, citing estimates of increased enrollment, Gardner agreed to up the campus target to 18,000, and some suggest he's willing to go as high as 20,000. Did the community lobbying force his hand?

"It's hard to measure that," Presley said. "I guess even he must have felt that given the strong political climate that welcomes it there," raising UCR's enrollment target was inevitable.

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

The war vote

In his State of the Union address to Congress, President George Bush said, "We stand at a defining hour" as U.S.-led forces battled Iraq.

Politically, the Persian Gulf War may also prove the defining event of Bush's presidency. When he seeks re-election next year, only the state of the economy is likely to compete with the voters' judgment on the wisdom of Bush's decision to go to war and on the course of the fighting. By then, the gulf war may come to be viewed as a heroic triumph — or a bloody debacle.

FOR MEMBERS OF CONGRESS, TOO, their stance on the war may prove politically crucial. If so, their defining hour came before the "smart" bombs even began to drop. Congress voted January 12th to authorize war. Since then, the legislative branch has been reduced mostly to watching from the sidelines.

Even though the vote on war was widely described as a painful "vote of conscience," the results fell largely along party lines. In the Senate's 52-47 vote approving war, 10 Democrats joined with virtually unanimous Republicans to support Bush. California's brand-new Republican senator, John Seymour, arrived just in time to cast his vote in favor of the resolution authorizing war. Democratic Senator Alan Cranston missed the historic vote because he was undergoing treatment for cancer.

In the House the vote authorizing war was 250-183, with Californians splitting 24-20 in favor of force. (Los Angeles Democrat Mervyn Dymally was absent.) The intriguing votes from the California delegation were those of members who went against their leaders — the six Democrats who favored authorizing war and the single Republican who opposed it.

Three of the Democrats favoring a resort to force were moderate-to-conservative members: Gary Condit and Richard Lehman, who represent the largely rural Central Valley, and Glenn Anderson, who represents largely blue-collar Long Beach.

The other three — Tom Lantos of Burlingame and Howard Berman and Mel Levine of Los Angeles — are more liberal. But all happen to be Jewish and strong supporters of Israel, and it is fair to assume they came to the vote with a heightened sense of Iraq's Saddam Hussein as a deadly threat to peace and stability in the Middle East.

But the same could be said of Henry Waxman of Los Angeles, who split with Berman and Levine — his close friends and political soulmates — and voted against authorizing force.

The single, intriguing Republican vote against force in the California delegation — and one of only three such GOP votes in the entire House — came from newcomer Frank Riggs.

"I did not feel, as much as I wanted to, that I could support the president," said Riggs. His rebellious vote against war was his first major decision in Congress after ousting Democrat Doug Bosco last November in the First District on the North Coast.

Riggs' victory over Bosco was considered an upset, if not a fluke. Riggs, a real estate developer from Windsor, won the seat without much help from the same Republican leaders who pressured him in the House cloakroom to vote for the war authorization. He did not exactly feel obligated to accept their entreaties.

"I got elected on my own terms, and I didn't receive any help from the White House or the party," said Riggs, who discussed the issue with Bush during two group meetings at the White House and received a phone call from Vice President Dan Quayle.

Riggs denies that he was swayed by the prospect of a tough re-election campaign in 1992. But he acknowledges that it "made the vote a little easier" to know that he would be echoing strong anti-war sentiment in his district.

Now that the vote on war is past, California members are trying to find something more to do than watch CNN and fret over the casualties and the conduct of the war.

For example, Coronado Republican Duncan Hunter, a strong supporter of the decision to fight and a member of the House Armed Services Committee, has been among those most active in using the war as a rationale to rescue the beleaguered Strategic Defense Initiative. In this argument, embraced by the Pentagon, the success of U.S. Patriot missles in shooting down Iraqi SCUD missles proves the possibilities for a vast, high-tech missle defense program.

Fittingly for a representative of the environmentally-conscious Bay Area, San Francisco Democrat Nancy Pelosi has emphasized the environmental catastrophe of war in the gulf. On January 25th, shortly before the world learned that Iraq had opened the valves on a Kuwaiti oil terminal to cause a massive oil spill, Pelosi recruited 16 House Democrats to sign a letter urging the United Nations' environmental program to investigate the environmental hazards of the war.

NOT SURPRISINGLY IN LIGHT OF HIS POST as chairman of the House Budget Committee, Carmel Democrat Leon Panetta has concentrated his effort on legislation that would require the president to report to Congress regularly on the war's cost — and how much allies are kicking in. Panetta had opposed authorizing war.

Senator Seymour made support for the families of Desert Storm troops a prime concern of his work in Washington and the theme of his first trips back home.

And Cranston, who is chairman of the Veterans Affairs Committee, pursued his interests even in absentia. In a customary Senate courtesy, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell of Maine, introduced in Cranston's name a package of bills to help reservists.

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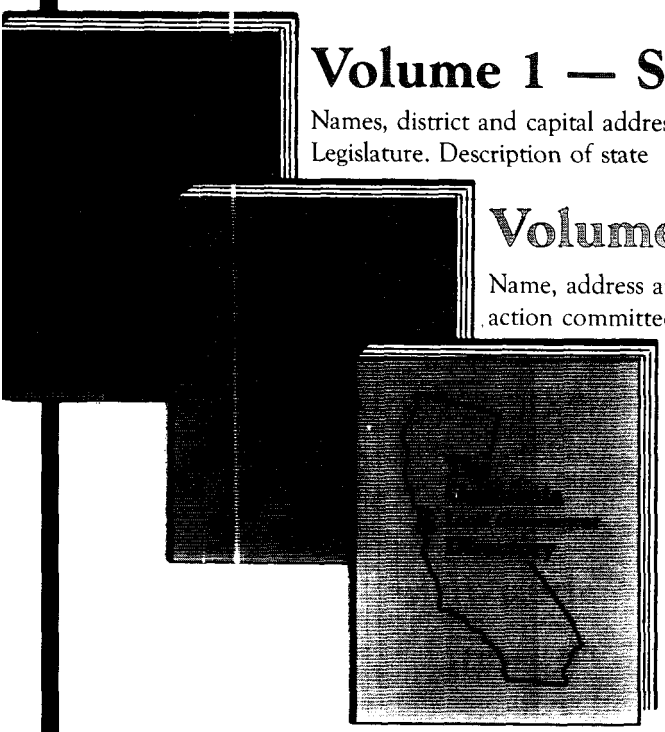

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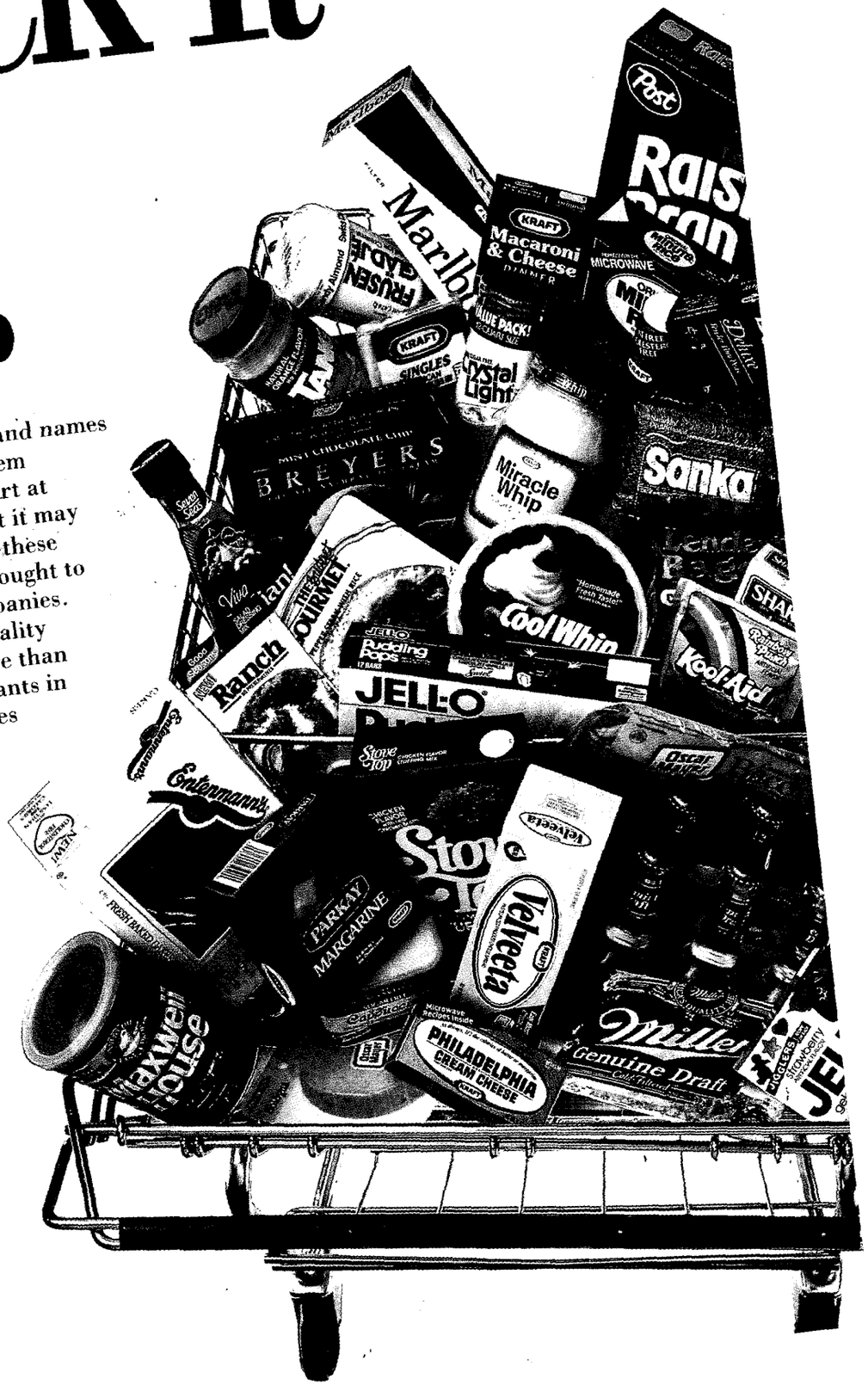

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